THE JESUITS IN MALABAR

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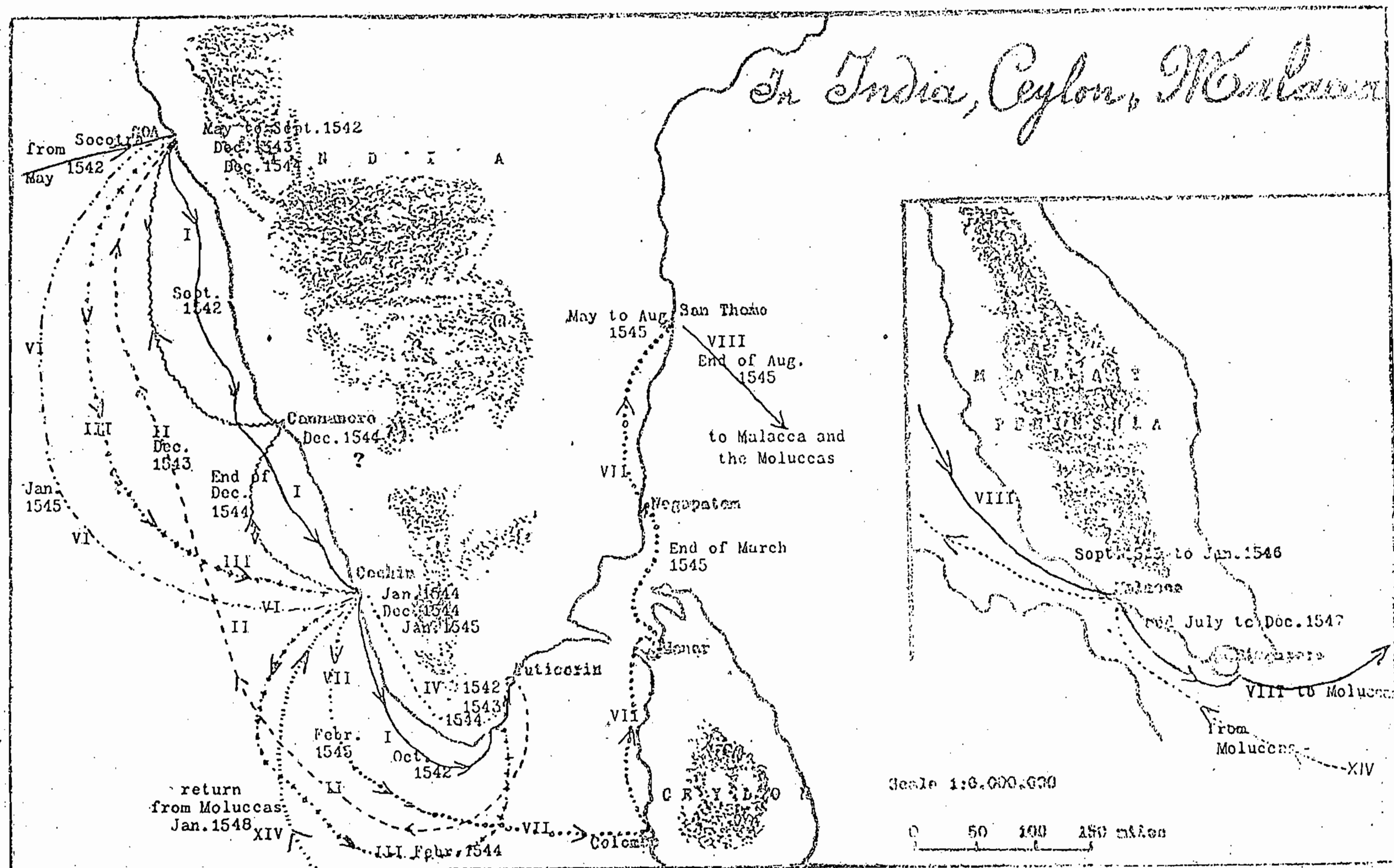
BY

D. FERROLI, S.J.

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Vol. I

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XAVIER'S JOURNEYS

V. VERBOCKAVEN S.J.

How wise and far-seeing this Ignatian regulation was, how prophetic in its realization is testified by the many historical works the Society has produced, and is seen much to our gain and edification in the present work of REV. FR. FERROLI.

Calicut, Feast of the Assumption, 15 August 1939. } + LEO PROSERPIO, S.J., *Bishop of Calicut.*

NOTE.

The second volume of *The Jesuits in Malabar* should have appeared seven years ago. But, owing to the Author's prolonged internment during the War, and to the dificulty in obtaining documents, it appears only now. It is hoped that, in spite of the quality of the paper and of the printing, the book will be read with interest by all those who desire to know more about the history of the Catholic effort in spreading the Kingdom of Christ.

Bangalore, feast of the Conversion of St. Paul, 25th January 1951.



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IMPRIMI POTEST

P. ZANOLIN, S.J.,
Sup. Reg.

7th September 1939

IMPRIMATUR

L. PROSERPIO, S.J.,
Bishop of Calicut.

8th September 1939

PREFACE

APRIL 15TH, 1539, has long been accepted as a red-letter day in the annals of the Society of Jesus. It marks the beginning of a series of meetings at which the first Companions of St. Ignatius decided the fundamental principles of their organization. The Founder had called them some time previously to Rome from the mission-fields in various parts of Italy, and bade them each prepare himself by prayer and fasting and solitary meditation for his share in the decision of future policy. At one of the sittings, on May 4th, among other resolutions, Ignatius was designated to draw up the petition for Papal recognition.

It is recorded that on reading the Constitutions submitted to him Paul III exclaimed: "The finger of God is here". But official machinery moves slowly. The Constitutions had to be examined by a Committee especially appointed by the Pope and it was greatly feared lest some of its members should raise opposition on the score that new Religious Orders were not looked upon favourably in Vatican circles. St. Ignatius, according to his accustomed practice, had recourse to prayer. In the name of himself and all his companions he vowed that three thousand Masses of thanksgiving should be offered if the desired approval was secured. There is no reason to doubt that the conversion of Cardinal Guidiccioni, from whom opposition had been expected, was God's direct answer to Ignatius' prayers. On hearing the Constitutions read to him the Cardinal at once changed opinion and joined with his colleagues in recommending Papal approval. Soon after Paul III issued the Bull of Establishment *Regiminis Militantis Ecclesiæ* on September 27th, 1540.

Voicing the feelings and sentiments of the whole Society of Jesus the present General, Very Rev. Fr. Wlodimir Ledochowski, sent forth directions for the celebration of worldwide festivities to be held in the year 1940. In a letter, dated 21st April 1935, he dwells at length on the things to be done to solemnize the fourth centenary *jam nunc parando.* Above all he stresses the need of reviving the primitive religious fervour

of the ancient Society and more particularly of the first ten Fathers, *qui pauci numero atque annis, in navandis tamen Christo laboribus virtutem ac robur unius populi ac integri sæculi æquarunt.*

He then recommends, as chief part of the external celebrations, the preparing and printing of scholarly works and popular publications illustrating the asceticism of the Jesuits, their method and success in the educational field, their experiences in the different countries in which they have laboured. These latter studies are also intended to serve for the compilation of a long-cherished monumental work—the History of the Society of Jesus—during the four centuries of its existence.

As it was anticipated, the desire of Very Rev. Fr. General met with a wave of enthusiastic response from the Provinces, and quite a harvest of scholarly volumes is sure to be gathered in for the occasion of the Centenary celebrations.

To Rev. Fr. D. Ferroli, S.J., Professor at St. Joseph's College, Bangalore, has devolved the task of writing the history of the Society of Jesus in Malabar. The subject is worthy of the pen and deep scholarship of the writer to whom it has been entrusted. It fills a gap in the annals of the Indian Missions, and the Venetian Province, working at present in the Diocese of Calicut, is to be congratulated on this contribution to the festivities of the Fourth Centenary.

To lovers of our past and to students of missionary activity and progress the book of Fr. Ferroli will be particularly dear as a welcome addition to such well-known works as: *La Mission du Maduré* by Rev. L. Besse, S.J.; *The Bombay Mission History* by Fr. E. Hull, S.J., not to mention the celebrated publications of Frs. Tacchi Venturi, Astrain and Rodrigues dealing respectively with the history of the Society of Jesus in Italy, Spain and Portugal.

Fr. Ferroli's book is full of charm and interest coupled with deep scholarship, but its chief merit lies in the fact that it tells the truth pure and undiluted. The present writer has recently had an opportunity of delivering a lecture to the students of the Zamorin College at Calicut. He chose as his theme: "A plea for the study of historical history". And indeed it is seldom that from official historical literature we

can form correct ideas of men and events and their interaction; of the forces at play in the initiation and shaping of national as well as international movements. Contemporary history, in particular, is proverbially a riddle. It has become subservient to politics and party-propaganda. It has ceased to be the impartial teacher of life and has, in its stead, assumed the rôle of popularizing ideologies of particular leaders who by hook or by crook have attained supreme power and rule the destinies of their country. Modern history is often a myth.

The work of Fr. Ferroli, we are glad to say, is free from these all too common faults of substituting fiction and so-called critical interpretation to the simple narrative of facts. He allows full play to the actors of the drama he has undertaken to write. This is rendered more easy by the wealth of contemporary documents, he has been able to unearth and to accumulate—of these he deliberately makes ample use. To such documents the author alludes in a lengthy introduction wherein he marshals forth in battle array an imposing list of historians, travel and chronicle writers who abundantly furnish him the raw material needed for his work.

Among the evidences the author has so diligently collected by far the most important are the *Litteræ Annuæ.* As stated in the Introduction, they were ordered by St. Ignatius who wished that the General of the Society should be yearly informed about the doings of the Order and enjoined that: "the things concerning each house as well as the whole Province have to be fully told, so that eventually they may serve to write the history of the Society."

How wise and far-seeing this Ignatian regulation was, how prophetic in its realization is testified by the many historical works the Society has produced, and is seen much to our gain and edification in the present work of REV. FR. FERROLI.

Calicut, Feast of the Assumption, *15th August 1939.* — ✠ LEO PROSERPIO, S.J., *Bishop of Calicut.*

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INTRODUCTORY

SOURCES

1. Ancient Jesuit Sources

We have first to remark that here we shall not give all our sources but only the main ones. Other sources will be quoted in their proper places.

(a) *The Litterae Annuae.* In the *Epitome* of the Constitutions of the Society of Jesus (No. 875) there is a rule which orders that the *Litterae Annuae* shall be sent to Rev. Fr. General by every province, in which things concerning each House as well as the whole Province have to be fully told, so that eventually they may serve to write the History of the Society.

The practice—though recommended by St. Ignatius himself—actually started in 1581, and, as regards the Calicut Mission, we possess the photographs of the letters from 1596 to 1633. They were obtained from Fr. Kleiser, the Archivist of the Society, by Fr. P. Caironi, S.J., and kindly given by him to the present writer.

The late Fr. Quinn, S.J., of the Madura Mission, photographed a large number of Letters, both official and private, from the Archives of the Society in Valkemburg (Holland) and in Rome. Some of the Letters are in Latin, some in Portuguese and in Italian. The late Fr. L. Besse, S.J., once Superior of the Madura Mission, translated most of them into French, and I obtained them through the extreme kindness of the Rev. Fr. A. Saulière, S.J., of Loyola College, Madras.

(b) P. Du Jarric's *Histoire des Choses plus Memorables Adventues tant ez Indes Orientales, que Autres Pais de la Descouverte des Portugais, en L'Etablissment et Progrez de la Foy Chrestienne et Catholique; et Principalemente de ce que les Religieux de la Compagnie de Jesus y ont Faict et Enduré pour le Mesme fin; Depuis Qu'ils y sont entrez Jusques àl'an* 1600.

Two further volumes appeared in 1610 and 1614, bringing the narrative up to the year 1609.

The Thesaurus Rerum Indicarum [Coloniae Agrippinae (1615)] is a Latin translation of the above work by MARTINEZ. FR. Du Jarric's work is also—in the main—a translation of FR. GUZMAN'S and FR. GUERREIRO'S works (*q.v.*).

C. H. PAYNE, who in 1926 published valuable notes on *Akbar and the Jesuits,* and who compared the chapters relating to the Moghul Empire with the corresponding portions of the *Historia* of Guzman and the *Relasam* of Guerreiro's, says that "in every case he found that Du Jarric used his authorities with fidelity, either translating or carefully summarizing... Errors of translation are here and there to be met with, but in a work covering close on 2,500 quarto pages, compiled from materials written in at least four different languages, and available in many cases only in MS. form, our wonder is, not that Du Jarric made errors, but that he made so few".* In India the work is to be found in the Goethal's Library, St. Xavier's College, Calcutta, and in Fr. Heras's Library, St. Xavier's College, Bombay.

(c) *The Relasam Annual des Cousas que Fizeram os Padres da Companhia de Jesus na India et Japao ......* by the Portuguese FR. FERNAM GUERREIRO, S.J. Five volumes: I for 1600–1601 (Evora, 1603); II for 1602–1603 (Lisbon, 1604); III for 1604–1605 (Lisbon, 1607); IV for 1606–1607 (Lisbon, 1609); V for 1607–1608 (Lisbon, 1611).

Here in India the work is to be found in the Goethal's Library, Calcutta, and in the Indian Library, St. Mary's, Kurseong.

(d) *Nova Relatio Historica de Rebus in India Orientali a Patribus Soc. J. Anno 1598–1599 Gestis a Rev. P. Nicholao Pimenta Visitatore, S.J., ad Rev. P. Cl. Aquavivam Praep. Gen. Missa.* Moguntiae, Albini, 1601. This very rare book is to be found in the Goethal's Library. The *Relatio* is dated from Goa "Oct. Kal. Jan. Anno 1599". It was put into Latin by an anonymous translator, as stated in the index of the "*De Rebus Japonicis. Indicis a I. Hayo Dalgattensi Scoto, S.J.*" Antwerpiae, Nutii, 1605. This last book is in the Indian Library, St. Mary's, Kurseong.

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* Quoted by MacLagen, p. 8.

Sancti Andreae Residentia

Residentia Calecuttana

Annae 1604 — Goa-55-I

A SAMPLE OF THE "LITTERAE ANNUAE"

(*e*) *Exemplar Epistolae P. Nicholai Pimentae, Prov. Indiae Or. Visitatoris, ad adm. Rev. P. Cl. Aquavivam Preap. Gen., S.J. de statu Rei Christianae in India* oct *Kal. Dec. Anno 1600 datae*. Excusum primum Romae apud Lud. Zanetti, 1602; nunc vero Moguntiae apud Jo. Albinum, anno eodem. This precious book is in the Goethal's Library, Calcutta. It was published in English by the late Fr. Hosten in the *Journal of the As. Soc. of Bengal* (New Series, Vol. XXIII, 1907, No. 1).†

(*f*) *Oriente Conquistado a Jesu Christo* pelos Padres da Companhia de Jesus da Provincia da Goa (Lisbon, 1710; Bombay, 1888). Though at times rhetorical and diffuse, the work is accurate. The 1888 edition is common in India.

(*g*) *Historiae Soc. Jesu Pars vi Complectens res Gestas sub Mutio Vitellescho.* Tomus II ab Anno Christi 1625 ad Annum 1633; Auctore J. C. CORDARA, Soc. ejusdem Sacerdote. Romae typis Civ. Cath. 1859. FR. CORDARA (1700–1785) continues the work of FRS. ORLANDINI, SACCHINI and JOUVENCY. His magnificent Latin is a delight to read. As a Historian, he has the defects of his time. When having the opportunity of checking him with the *Litterae Annuae* we found him quite reliable. The Work is in the Historical Archives of the Mission of Calicut.

(*h*) *Ragguagli D'Alcune Missioni Fatte Dalli PP. d.C.d.G. Nelle Indie Or. Cioē Nella Provincia di Goa e Coccino e Nell'Africa in Capo Verde*. Roma, 1615 (Zanetti). Imperial Library, Calcutta.

(*i*) *Daniello Bartoli, d.C.d.G.* (Ferrara, 1608; Rome, 1685) *Dell' Istoria della Compagnia di Gesū. L' Asia* (Venezia, Girolamo Tasso, 1833). Calicut Archives.

Bartoli is one of the numerous Classics of Italian Literature. His style is as grand as Cicero's, as majestic as Livy's. Historians have now come to regard him as substantially accurate, in spite of his Livian speeches and apologetic

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† NOTE.—Fr. Pimenta was a Portuguese, born at Santarem in 1546. He joined the Soc. in 1562. He came out to India as Visitor in 1596. He had taught Humanities and Theology at Evora and Coimbra, where he was also Rector. In India he visited Malabar and governed the Province of Goa. He died in Goa, 6 March 1614. (*Cfr.* SOMMERVOGEL; BIBLIOTHEQUE; Bruxelles, 1895; Vol. V, p. 756.)

passages. He had access to the Roman Archives of the Society and made very good use of his opportunities.

(*k*) MARACCI, S.J., *Relation de ce qui S'est Passé aux Indes* (Paris, 1651). Fr. Maracci was Procurator in Rome of the Goa Province. His report (which at times could be more accurate) was presented to Propaganda in 1649.

(*l*) *De Erroribus Nestorianorum qui in Hac India Orientali Versantur, Auctore P. Francisco Roz, S.I.*

(Inédit Latin—Syriaque de la fin de 1586 ou du debut de 1587. Retrouvé par le P. Castets, S.J., Missionaire à Trichinopoly; Annoté par le P. Irenée Hausherr, S.J.)

Pont. Inst. Orient. Studiorum, Roma.

Orientalia Christiana, Vol. XI, 1, Jan. 1928.

As to the historic value of Jesuit sources of information we take the following from MacLagen (pp. 17–18): "The value of the Jesuit letters and reports .... for historical purposes can scarcely be overestimated. It is true that the letters are from men reporting on their own work—work to which they had devoted their lives. It is also true that the members of the Society realized the intensity of the struggle in Europe between the Jesuits and their enemies both inside and outside the Catholic Church, and the necessity for avoiding anything which might give a handle to their opponents. But the letters .... though at times they may be coloured with enthusiasm, are not open to any charge of intentional falsehood. In many instances they candidly admit failure and we may in general accept them when they tell of success. Tested by such information as we possess from independent sources, Indian and European, they emerge from the examination with the greatest credit and may for historical purposes be looked on as authorities of a very high order."

2. MODERN JESUIT SOURCES

(*a*) LEON BESSE, S.J., *La Mission du Maduré* (Trichinopoly, Imprimérie de la Mission Catholique, 1914).

A most reliable and painstaking work.

Fr. Besse is also responsible for the publication of the Catalogues of the Malabar Province, which, from time to time he appended to the Jesuit Catalogues of the Madura Mission, and where we find the most precious details on the personnel

of the Malabar Province, on its various houses, on their financial resources, etc.

(*b*) J. CASTETS, S.J., *The Madura Mission* (Trichinopoly, St. Joseph's Industrial School Press, 1924). Fr. Castets died quite recently. He was one of the most brilliant members of what may be called the Trichinopoly Historical School. Many differed from him in their historical conclusions, but oftener moved by prejudice than by historical arguments. Of late the present writer obtained an anonymous *Essay on the Christians of St. Thomas* through the kindness of the REV. N. FIGUEREDO of Mylapore. The Essay is very valuable indeed, and from the style, and the knowledge which the writer has of Jesuit documents, it is almost certain that he was none other than Fr. Castets.

(*c*) MOORE, *The History of the Diocese of Mangalore* (Mangalore, Codialbail Press, 1905). The book is as good as it is unpretentious. Most of the material had been collected by the late Fr. Angelo Maffei, S.J. It was put together by FR. JOHN MOORE, S.J.

3. NON-JESUIT SOURCES

A. Ecclesiastical

(*a*) *Histoire Orientale des Grans Progres de L'Eglise Catholique en la Reduction des Chrestiens de S. Thomas par le rme don Alexis de Menezes, Archeveque de Goa, Composée en Langue Portugaise par A. Gouvea, et Tournée en François par J. B. Glen.* A Bruxelles par Rutger Velpius l'an 1609. This book is in the Indian Library, St. Mary's, Kurseong. The Portuguese edition goes under the title *Jornada que o Arcebispo de Goa dom Frey Aleyxo de Menezes Religioso da Orde de S. Agostinho fez a Serra dos Christaos de Sam Thome.*

A typewritten copy was kindly lent to the present writer by the Rev. N. Figueredo of Mylapore. Futile attempts have been made recently to discredit this narrative. It is a magnificent and quite trustworthy tribute to the zeal and energy of the great Archbishop.

(*b*) *Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae Regum in Ecclesiis Africae, Asiae Atque Oceaniae; Bullas, Brevia, Epistolas, Decreta Actaque Sanctae Sedis ab Alexandro III ad hoc Tempus*

Usque Amplectens-Curante Vicecomite de Paiva Manso. Olisipone 1868–1879. For the present work the *Appendix*, TOMUS I was chiefly consulted. It contains the five Provincial Councils of Goa, published by J. A. DE CUNHA RIVARA, with the exception of the first part of the IV Council. It contains also the *Acts of the Synod of Diamper.*

FR. JOAO MARIA CAMPORI, S.J., of the College of Santa Cruz in Vaipicota describes the Acts in a *Letter* of the 28th Nov. 1599. The *Letter* was inserted by POSSEVINUS in his *Apparatus ad Bibliothecam Sacram.* LABBE and COSSERT printed it also in their Collections of Councils. The *Synod of Diamper* was first published in Portuguese by ANTHONY GOUVEA (Coimbra, 1606). It was translated into Latin and copiously annotated by JOHN FACUNDUS RAULIN in his *History of the Malabar Church* (Rome, 1745). The Synod was done into English by JAMES HOUGH in the second volume of his *History of Christianity in India* (London, 1839).

The present writer could have access to the *Bullarium* through the great kindness of Dr. M. Guerreiro, Bishop of Mylapore, and of HIS V. G. MGR. FRANCIS CARVALHO.

An important addition to the above was issued at Alleppy in 1903 under the title *Subsidium ad Bullarium patr. Portugalliae by* DOM MATTHEUS, Bishop of Cochin. There will be found three Briefs of CLEMENT VIII to the Archbishop of Goa. In the first he speaks of the sad relapse of Mar Abraham and enjoins the Archbishop to inquire into the matter. If Abraham is guilty he should be taken to Goa and kept there *"sub tuta et honesta custodia".* Meanwhile the proceedings should be sent to Rome. The Archbishop shall appoint an Administrator for Angamale, and not permit anyone to enter there as Pastor, "nisi quem Apostolica Sedes juxta Decretum prefatae Synodi Prov. Goanae ab ipso Mar Abraham ejusque Ecclesia et Dioecesi acceptatum elegerit" (Rome, 27 Jan. 1595).

The second Brief (21 Jan. 1597) renews the faculty to Archbishop Menezes to appoint a Vicar Apostolic over Angamale "donec Nos eidem Ecclesiae de pastore providerimus".

The third Brief (1 April 1599) praises the Archbishop's zeal. The authenticity of the first two Briefs has been denied even recently. The arguments, however, are more worthy of the Lawyer than of the Historian.

The *Subsidium* contains also a detailed comparison of the Chaldeo-Malabar and the Nestorian Mass. The differences are small. The changes were brought about by Dogmatic and not by Liturgical reasons, as some, more patriotic than well informed, would try to make out. In connexion with this we may quote also the rare pamphlet by the Bishop of Cochin, DR. MATHEUS DE OLIVEIRA XAVIER, *"Some Elucidations on the occasion of the Rt. Rev. Dr. A. Medlicott's Article published in the 'Voice of Truth'; 11 and 21 June 1902.*

(c) *Viaggi Orientali del Revmo P. Filippo Della ss. Trinità Generale dei Carm. Scalzi.* In Roma a spese di Filippo M. Mancini, 1666. The book is in the Fathers' Library, St. Al. College, Mangalore. The narrative is interesting and trustworthy. Use has been made of it in the chapter on "The Land and the People".

(d) *Il Viaggio All' Indie Orientali del Padre fra Vincenzo Maria di Santa Caterina da Siena, Procuratore Generale dei Carm. Scalzi.* In Roma nella Stamperia di Filippomaria Mancini, 1672. The book is in the Fathers' Library, St. Aloysius College, Mangalore. Some use has been made of it in the chapter on "The Land and the People". Greater use will be made in the second volume.

(e) ASSEMANI (S. JOSEPH) was a Christian of the Maronite Rite, employed in the Vatican Library. Having been sent by Pope Clement XI in quest of Oriental MSS., he later published them in 4 folio volumes, under the title *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino Vaticana* in qua manuscriptos Codices Syriacos, Arabicos, Persicos, Turcicos .... Bibl. Vat. addictos recensuit (Romae, 1719–1728).

There is a copy of them in the Library of the Catholic Bishop of Trichur, and another at Verapoly.

(f) ASSEMANI (L. JOSEPH), *De Catholicis seu Patriarchis Chaldeorum et Nestorianorum Commentarius Historico-Chronologicus* (Roma, 1775). Though I searched for it, I could not get the book. It is not, however, very important for our purpose.

(g) A. R. P. PAULINUS A S. BARTHOLOMAEO, C.D. His family name was Philip Wesdin. He was born in Lower Austria, at Hoff, in April 1748 and died in Rome, 7 January 1806. He was sent to Malabar as Apost. Visitator of his Order.

In 1789 he was recalled to Rome, and asked to edit books useful to Missionaries. From 1798 to 1800 he stayed in Vienna, and then returned to Rome as Prefect of Studies at Propaganda. The following are some of the most important works written by Fr. Paolino: (1) *Systema Brahmanicum .... Ex Monumentis Musaei Borgiani* (Rome, 1791). Of this book made use Prof. Jarl Charpentier in his discovery of the author *Do Livro da Seitas* (FR. FENICIO'S, S.J.). (2) *Musaei Borgiani Velitris Codices MSS. .... Malabari .... Ilustrati* (Rome, 1793). (3) *Examen Hist. Criticum Codicum Indicorum Bibl. S.C.P.F.* (Rome, 1792). (4) *Viaggio Alle Indie Orientali* (Roma, Fulgoni, 1796). (5) *Sidharubam; Grammatica Samscridica* (Roma, 1799). Another edition appeared under the title *Vyacaranam* (Roma, 1804). We read in *Sommervogel's Bibl.*, Vol. IV, Col. 81: "*M. Jean Golmeister dans sa Bibl. Sanskritae, sive Recensus Critici Specimen*" (Bonnae ad Rhenum, 1847) dit a la page I on parlant de la Gramm. Sansk. du P. Paulinus: "Eum Commentariis J. E. Hanxledenii MSS. usum fuisse satis notum est". We shall speak more at length on this matter in the II Vol., when dealing with FR. HANXLEDEN, S.J. (6) *India Orientalis Christiana* (Roma, 1794). An important work for the History of the Missions in India. We shall often quote it. A copy is in the Fathers' Library, St. Aloysius' College, Mangalore.

(*h*) GIAMIL SAMUEL, *Genuinae Relationes* inter Sedem Ap. et Assyr. Orient. seu Chaldaeorum Ecclesiam nunc majori ex parte primum editae, historicisque illustrationibus illustratae (Roma, 1902).

(*i*) MONS. GIUSEPPE BELTRAMI, *La Chiesa Caldea nel Secolo Dell'Unione* (Pont. Instit. Or. Studiorum; Roma; Or. Xna Jan. Mart., 1933). A first rate work, well documented and well written. It is very sympathetic towards Malabar. A copy was kindly lent to me by the Rev. N. Figueredo of Mylapore.

(*l*) *Fra Marcellino da Civezza*: Storia Univ. della Missioni Francescane. (Firenze, Ariani, 1894). This voluminous work is in the Indian Library, St. Mary's, Kurseong.

(*m*) MAX. MULLBAUER, *Geschichte der Katholischen Missionen in Ostindien* (Freiburg in Breisgau, 1852). A MS. translation of this very well-informed book was in possession of the late Fr. H. Hosten, S.J., Darjeeling.

(*n*) REV. M. DE SA, *History of the Catholic Church in India*, 2 Vols. (Bombay, B. X. Furtado & Sons, 1910).

(*o*) BERNARD OF ST. THOMAS, T.O.C.D., *A Brief Sketch of the St. Thomas Christians* (Trichinopoly, 1924).

(*p*) MGR. J. C. PANJKARAN, *The Syrian Church in Malabar* (Trichy, 1914).

(*q*) *De Fontibus Iuris Ecclesiastici Syro-Malankarensium.* Commentarius Historico-Canonicus. P. Placidus a S. Joseph, T.O.C.D. Syro-Malabarensis. Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, MCMXXXVII.

B. Lay Sources: Ancient

(*a*) *Calcoen.* A Dutch narrative of the second Voyage of Vasco de Gama to Calicut, printed at Antwerp *circa* 1504, with introduction and translation by J. Ph. Berjean, London, 1874. A copy in Fr. Heras's Library, Bombay.

(*b Baldaeus*: *A True and Exact Description of the Most Celebrated East India Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel and Ceylon.* Dutch edition, Amsterdam, 1672. English translation, London, 1703, 3 Vols. To be found in Fr. Heras's Library, Bombay. Greater use will be made of this book in the second volume.

Baldaeus was chaplain to the Dutch forces. He was present at the taking of Cochin. Many of the books in the Jesuit Library of Cochin fell into his hands. He plagiarized them.

(c) PYRARD DE LAVAL, *The Voyage of Fr. P. De Laval*, transl. by A. Gray, 2 Vols. Hackluyt Soc., 1887.

To be found in Fr. Heras's Library, Bombay. A most interesting narrative. We shall make use of it in the chapter on "The Land and the People". DE LAVAL was freed from prison by Fr. Thomas Stephens, S.J. He was the guest of the Fathers in Calicut. He speaks of Fr. Fenicio as being somewhat quick-tempered. Very interesting is his description of the Jesuit Hospital in Goa.

(*d*) *Pietro Della Valle's Travels* (Hackluyt Ed. in Fr. Heras's Library, Bombay). The Italian edition in the Fathers' Library, Mangalore. Very observant and reliable. See his

description of the Queen of Ullal, of the Kadri Temple, of Calicut, of the Cannanore Misericordia, etc.

(e) *Selections from the Records of the Madras Government. Dutch Records, No. 13. The Dutch in Malabar,* being a translation of Selections Nos. 1 and 2 with Introduction and Notes by A. GALLETTI, I.C.S., the REV. A. J. VAN DEN BURG, and the REV. P. GROOT, S.S.J. (Madras Government Press, 1911). The book is also in Fr. Heras's Library, Bombay. Much use will be made of it in the II Vol.

C. Lay Sources: Modern

(a) G. T. MACKENZIE, *Christianity in Travancore* (Trivandrum Government Press, 1901). A very well documented and reliable work.

(b) *Madras District Gazetteers. Malabar and Anjengo* by C. A. INNES, I.C.S., edited by F. B. Evans, I.C.S., Government Press, Madras, 1915.

(c) *The Jesuits and the Great Moghul* by Sir E. MacLagen, B.O. and Washbourne, Ltd., London, 1932.

(d) *History of Kerala* by K. P. PADMANABHA MENON. Vol. I. Government Press, Ernakulam, 1924.

(e) *Mangalore*—A Historical Sketch by G. M. Moraes; Codialbail Press, Mangalore.

4. PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS

(a) *The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*

(b) *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies,* London. See chiefly the articles by Jarl Charpentier on Fr. Fenicio, and those of Abbot on Fr. Stephens.

(c) *Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu.* The publication was started in Rome in 1932. It has made a mark in the Historical World. Several misconceptions and calumnies about the Society have been rectified. It publishes two numbers a year.

(d) *Gregorianum.* It is published by the Greg. Univ. Rome. It is mainly Philosophical and Theological. Notice, however, Fr. Schurhammer's articles on the Malabar Church.

(e) *The Examiner,* Bombay. Notice the articles of the late Fr. Castet's on "The Missions in Ceylon", and the articles by Fr. Heras, S.J., on the Thomas Christians.

INTRODUCTORY

THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

As described in Contemporary Documents

XVI & XVII Centuries

1. THE NAME OF THE COUNTRY

SOUTH KANARA and Malabar are among the fairest provinces of India. Situated along the West Coast, they extend for nearly three hundred miles in length, and their depth inland varies from ten to about sixty miles. Learned men dispute on the etymology of the word Malabar. Mr. Logan thinks that "the first two syllables are almost certainly the ordinary Dravidian *Mala* (hill, mountain), and *bar* is probably the Arabic *barr* or Persian *bar* (country)". The indigenous word is *Malayalam,* which is probably a compound of *Mala* (hill) and *ala* (wave), meaning the country of hills and waves. And the title of the Zamorin of Calicut is precisely *Kunnalakkonatiri* which means the king of the hills and the waves.

Kanara refers rather to the language, and means the country where *Kannara* or Kanarese is spoken.

2. MYTHOLOGICAL ORIGIN OF THE COUNTRY

The Dutchman, VISSCHER in his famous letters from Malabar(1) relates the following legend as to the origin of the country:

"In bygone ages, the sea washed the foot of a mountain range which now lies seven or eight miles inland. The men who dwelt in the neighbourhood gained their subsistence by fishing along the mountain shores. Now it happened that there dwelt at Gocarna near Goa, a certain prophet universally renowned for sanctity whose name was Paroose Raman. Discovering to his sorrow that his aged mother had acquired an evil notoriety in the neighbourhood for her misdeeds, he felt unable to endure the public shame she had brought upon him. At length, inspired by a divine impulse, he seized a rice-winnow and hurled it with tremendous force from Gocarna right over the sea; by a wonderful miracle, it was

carried onward as far as Cape Comorin, upon which all the sea between the two places immediately dried up, and was transformed into that tract of level land to which we now give the name of Malabar. The prophet resolved to take up his abode with his mother in this strange land, hoping here to find a hiding place for her disgrace. Meantime the fishermen of the mountains, hearing of the miracle, flocked into these lowlands and made for the seashore. The prophet met them, and knowing that a land without inhabitants is waste and desolate, persuaded them to remain and settle there; and in order the more to attract them, he invested them with the dignity of Brahmins, promising at the same time to support them according to his custom, by which he was pledged to provide food daily for 3,000 of that caste. He then took the fishing nets with which they were laden, and tore them into strands, which he twisted together to make the three chords which the Brahmins wear as a sign of their dignity in a knot on the shoulder, and falling down below the waist. These Brahmins of Malabar are called Namboories (Namboodries) and are reproached by the other Brahmins for their descent from fishermen."

The legend is mentioned in various Puranas, and probably refers to some volcanic cataclysm, by which the land of Kerala emerged from the sea.

3. Kerala

In Sanskrit Literature the country is designated by the name of *Kerala*. Pliny refers to its ruler as Calebotras, and says that Muziris—which Dr. Burnell identifies with Cranganore—was its capital. *The Periplus Maris Aerhythraei*—a work of the First Century—says that it extends from Nouro and Tyndis in the North, to Nelcynda in the South. Caldwell maintains that Nelcynda or Melkynda is South Travancore, and Dr. Burnell identifies Tyndis with Kadalundi, near Calicut.

The Calebotras of Pliny have been identified by Bishop Caldwell with Keralaputra, mentioned in the Asoka edicts. The Rev. Mr. Foulkes says that Chora and Kerala denote the same country and it is certain that the two names are regarded as synonymous in Tamil and Malayalam.

Nalikeram in Malayalam means coconut. There is a possibility that *Kerala* is derived from Nalikeram, meaning the land of the coconut.

4. Physical Features

Nearly the whole coast of Kanara and Malabar is low and broken up by numerous water courses. The scenery is beautiful, and in the warm wet atmosphere, vegetation runs riot. The houses nestle under the dark green coconut trees, each in its own compound, surrounded by mud walls or stout fences. As one goes inland the scene changes: first there are the low red laterite hills, separated by green valleys; then the spurs, deep ravines and thick jungles, which mark the rise of the Ghats.

The rainfall is heavy—heavier in South Kanara than in Malabar—and great extremes of heat and cold are unknown. In the hottest months the average maximum is only 91° F., and even in the nights of the so-called cold weather the thermometer rarely sinks below 70°. But the climate—though not unhealthy—is very trying and enervating. And during the monsoon, clothes, books, guns, scientific instruments, have to be looked after very carefully, to protect them from mildew or rust.

The Flora of Kanara and Malabar is very rich. The Dutch Commander Van Rheede and the Carmelite Fr. Matthew compiled the *Hortus Malabaricus*, which was published at Amsterdam between 1686 and 1703, in twelve volumes and 794 copper-plate engravings. Though a work of outstanding merit, it is far from complete. Many varieties of plants and flowers await classification both in the magnificent forests of the Ghats and in the plains. The commonest tree along the coast is the coconut palm (*Cocos nucifera*), of which we shall later on give a description in the words of the first Englishman in India, Fr. Thomas Stephens, S.J. The areca (*Areca catechu*) is one of the most elegant trees we have ever seen. In 1500 A.D. Admiral Pedralvarez Cabral brought to India from Brazil the custard apple, the guava, the pineapple, the papaya and the cashew nut. The many varieties of the *Musa paradisiaca* worthily represent the Hindu symbol of fertility. Coffee, tea, pepper, cinnamon, cardamom and rubber trees

form not an inconsiderable part of the wealth of the West Coast.

Tigers, elephants, bisons are fairly common in the thick jungle. Monkeys and lemurs abound. The cattle is weak. Buffaloes, strong and well sized, do the heavy work in the fields and on the roads.

Since this first volume of the History of the Society of Jesus in Malabar is mainly confined to the first half of the seventeenth century, we shall give here a short description of the West Coast cities: Quilon, Cochin, Cranganore, Calicut, Cannanore and Mangalore, as they were at that period. We shall then endeavour to speak of the people, as it appeared to travellers and chroniclers in those days, thus preparing the background of the picture, which later will be filled in by the activities of the members of the Malabar Province. Thus their history will be more intelligible as their deeds will not appear cut off from their natural environment, as if they were cultures *in vitro*, but will appear in bold relief within their contemporary, social, political and religious atmosphere.

5. Quilon

(Coeloen, Coulam, Kanlam) will often be mentioned in the following pages. The Italian traveller Varthema (beginning of sixteenth century) describes it as "a fine port", and the famous Duarte Barbosa says that it was " a very great city with a very good haven, with many great merchants, Moors and Gentiles, whose ships traded to all the Eastern ports as far as Bengal, Pegu and the Archipelago".

Captain Nienhoff, Chief Director of the Dutch East India Company at Quilon, arrived there in January 1662. He describes the town as follows: "The city is fortified with a stone wall of 18 to 20 feet high, and eight bastions. Its suburbs, which are large and stately, are by the Portuguese called Colang China. For Koulang is separated into two bodies, one of which is called the upper or Malabar Koulang, the other, the lower Koulang. In the first the King and Queen kept their ordinary residences. The last was formerly in the possession of the Portuguese. Here the Friars of St. Paul (Jesuits) and the Franciscans had each a monastery adorned with stately chapels and steeples.

Besides which there were four other Portuguese churches here, dedicated to as many Romish Saints. They had no less than seven goodly churches, among which was the famous church built many years ago by the Christians of St. Thomas, which was left standing, after we reduced the place into a narrow-compass. .... The houses of the inhabitants were very stately and lofty, built of free stone; among which the Government House surpassed all others. It was two storeys high, and had very curious stone steps on each side. But the castle, the residence of the Portuguese Governor, passes all the rest in magnificence. It lies very near the seaside, at one end of the city, being covered on the top with coco-leaves, as likewise two of its turrets, the third being tiled with pantiles. Just upon the seashore is another four-square tower, where I set up the Company's flag on the top of a mast.

In the midst of it is a very lofty edifice, which the Portuguese used for a chapel, which I ordered to be made into divers convenient chambers, and to be fitted for the use of the Company Officers. This castle is the strongest the Portuguese were ever masters of on the coast of Malabar, being built some hundred years ago by the famous engineer Hector de la Casa.

This city, as I told you before, was drawn into a less compass by the Dutch, which they fortified on the land-side with two half and one whole bastion. Most of the churches and other public edifices were pulled down, except the castle, St. Thomas's church and some monasteries, which remained standing within the said precinct.

On the side of the Koulang China, along the seashore, the Jesuits had built a great village for the Parvees, a poor sort of Malabars living upon fishing, where the Governor of the King of Travancore and Prince Baryette Poelo (Vatayattu Pilla) kept their residences, which are about a mile in circuit, and surrounded with an earthen wall, with some points like bastions, on which are mounted good store of great cannon, which command the roads, without which there is scarce any access to them.

The best houses are built along the river-side, with very good gardens, stocked with all sorts of trees, fruits, flowers, and herbs, but especially with citrons, which grow here not

on trees, but shrubs; their houses are seldom above two storeys high, their stairs within, of stone, their rooms above stairs are paved with green and yellow four square stones, the ceiling of which is commonly of Indian oak, some being finely carved, others painted. They commonly have an arbour, or summer house, belonging to each garden, which is commonly near the riverside, where they spend generally their evenings, and divert themselves with anything."[1]

From this we have a glimpse of the character of a Portuguese settlement in India. Strong fortifications, which protected the merchants against possible surprises from Rajahs and Moors. Fine houses, usually surrounded by a large compound, planted with coconut and mango trees. Beautiful and numerous churches, served by Seculars and Regulars. Usually a school was attached to the churches, where Portuguese or Eurasian children were taught. It is pleasing to notice the Pariah village, where the Jesuits had gathered their converts, and where they taught them and protected them, both against the High Castes, and the exactions of the King's Officers.

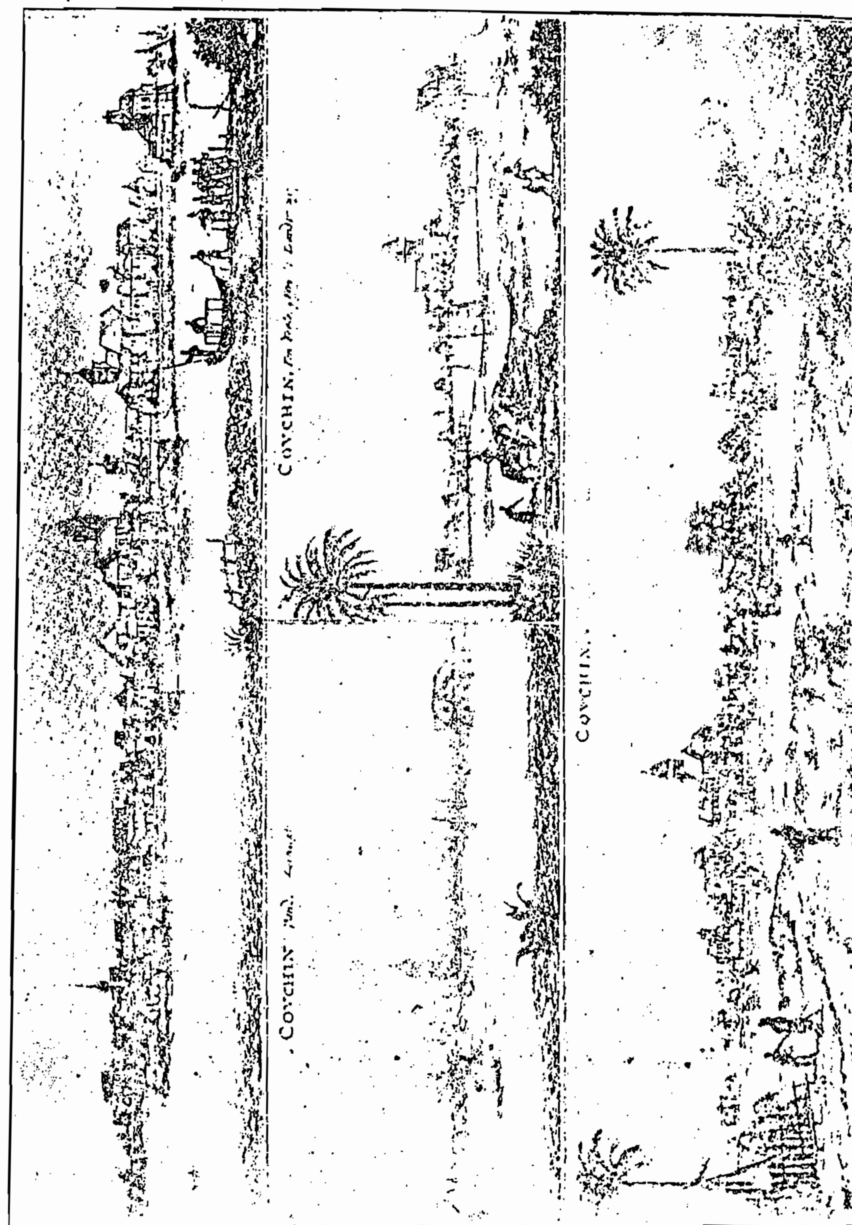
6. Cochin

The headquarters of the Malabar Province was Cochin. The Dutch Minister Baldaeus has left us a plan of the town, as it stood at the time of the Dutch conquest (1663). At the extreme West there was the Jesuit house (Monastery of St. Paul) which the same Baldaeus describes as facing the seashore, and having a lofty steeple, and a most excellent set of bells. The College, which was three storeys high and contained about 20 or 30 apartments, was surrounded with a strong wall.

Governor Nienhoff adds: "Among other steeples, that of St. Paul's being magnificently built of square stones, exceeded all the rest in height and beauty."[2] On the other side, towards Muttancherry Bridge, the Augustinians had built their own house. The Franciscan Monastery stood on the eastern side

[1] Quoted from K. P. Padmanabha Menon's *History of Kerala*, Vol. I, pp. 288–90, Cochin, 1924.

[2] Quoted by Padmanabhan, pp. 172–73.



COCHIN IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

of the present Government Church, whilst the foundations of the Dominican Convent are still traceable around the grounds occupied some time ago by the Protestant Free School.

By far too many Religious Houses within a small compass. No wonder we often read complaints of the idleness of the Friars, and of their petty jealousies and quarrels.

Cæsar Frederick, Venetian merchant, travelled in the East from 1563 to 1581.

He describes Cochin as "the chiefest place that the Portugals have in the Indies next to Goa". He observes: "All that marry in Cochin do get an office according to the trade he is in. This they have by the great privileges which the citizens have of the city because there are two principal commodities that they deal withal in that place, which are these: the great store of silk that cometh from China and the great store of sugar which cometh from Bengala. The married citizens pay not any custom for these two commodities; for all other commodities they pay four per cent. custom to the King of Cochin, rating their goods at their own pleasure."[3]

The first Englishman to visit Cochin was Master Ralph Fitch, who arrived there on the 22nd March 1583. He says that he "found the weather warm, but scarcity of victuals; for here groweth neither corn nor rice, and the greatest part cometh from Bengala. They have here very bad water, for the river is far off. This bad water causeth many people to be like lepers, and many of them have their legs swollen as big as a man in the waste, and many of them are scant able to go.

These people here be Malabares, and of the race of the Naires of Calicut; and they differ much from the other Malabars. These have their heads very foel of haire, and bound up with string, and good archers, with a long bow, and a long arrow, which is their best weapon; yet there be some calivers among them, but they handle them badly......

All the inhabitants here have very little houses covered with the leaves of the coco-trees. The men be of reasonable stature; the women little black, with a cloth bound about their middle hanging down to their hammes, all the rest of their body

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[3] *Hakluyt Voyages*, V, pp. 329; 395 ; VI, p. 21.

be naked; they have horrible great ears, with many rings set with pearls and stones in them. The King goeth as they do all; he doeth not remain in a place above five or ten days; he hath many houses, but they be but little; his guard is but small; he removeth from one house to the other according to their order.

All the pepper of Calicut and of course cinnamon groweth here in this country. The best cinnamon doth come from Ceylon; and it is pilled from fine young coco-trees, which is their chief food; for it is their meat and drink; and yieldeth many other necessary things."[4]

Though better educated and more civilized, the Malayalees' manner of dressing, the style of their houses, their way of eating with their fingers, has not changed much. Even now the women think it attractive to load their ears with ear rings, and to enlarge the lobes to an extraordinary extent.

The Portuguese Power in India, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, was fast declining. The wars with the Dutch, and the Piracy of the Moors had rendered the sea unsafe for commerce. Many families, which, but a generation before, were exceedingly wealthy, were now plunged in poverty, and men, who could not recoup their fortunes by trade, often endeavoured to become rich by gambling. Both in Goa and in Cochin, gambling—with all its attendant vices—had assumed alarming proportions.

Many Portuguese gentlemen, and especially the ladies, were very pious; but often piety was an occasion for vain display. Women, dressed mostly in gold and silver brocade, adorned with precious stones, on the head, arms, hands and round the waist, with their cheeks painted to a shameful degree, were carried to church in gorgeous litters, guarded by slaves.

"When they entered the church, they were taken by the hand by one or two men, since they could not walk by themselves, on account of the height of their slippers. Each is thus helped to her seat some forty or fifty paces off, taking at least a good quarter of an hour to walk that distance, so slowly and majestically does she move."

[4] Quoted by Padmanabhan, pp. 171–72.

"When a gentleman rode forth, he was attended by a throng of slaves in gay and fanciful liveries, some holding painted umbrellas, others displaying richly inlaid arms; while his horse glittered with gold and silver trappings, jingling silver bells, reins studded with precious stones, and gilt stirrups wrought into artistic patterns. The poor aped the rich and resorted to amusing makeshifts to exhibit an air of grandeur. Gentlemen who lived together had a few silk suits between them in common. These they used by turns when they went out, and hired the services of a man to hold an umbrella over them as they strutted through the streets."[5]

7. Cranganore

From a historic point of view, Cranganore is perhaps the most important place in Malabar. A Tamil poet describes Muziris, Kodungallur or Cranganur as follows: "The thriving town of Muchiri where the large ships of the Yavanas, bringing gold, come splashing the white foam on the waters of the Periyar, which belongs to the Cherala, and return laden with pepper."

St. Thomas is supposed to have landed near Cranganore, and therefore the city is sacred to the Christians. It was the capital of the Cheraman Perumals, whose palace, known as Allal Perinkovilakam, was situated in the vicinity of the great pagoda at Tiruvanchikkulam, which formed a suburb of Cranganore.

The later—if not the last—Perumal, (2) granted many privileges to the Christians, who, when the Portuguese arrived in India, sent a deputation to Vasco de Gama with a request that Portugal would take them under their protection (1502).

Here Lopo Suarez inflicted a crushing defeat on the Zamorin, and the town was destroyed. It was rebuilt by the Portuguese, who surrounded it with walls and protected it with a castle. At the beginning of the seventeenth century it became the headquarters of the Archbishop of the Serra. The Jesuits built a fine college, containing a splendid library. "The structure", Baldaeus informs us, "was in no way inferior to many in Europe. Within the fortress walls a magnificent

[5] Hunter's *History of India*, Vol. I, p. 156, etc.

cathedral reared its stately head, and around it were the beautiful tombs of the Jesuit Archbishops."

Beyond the walls at Vaipicotta, was the Seminary for the Thomas Christians. The last building was subsequently converted into a leper hospital. Not far away was Palliporto, and then Porakad, a part of which was known as Kallarkode or thieves' land. The country around is very fertile, and even now is considered as the granary of Travancore. Of the buildings within the fortress of Cranganore, nothing now remains, except a solitary tower, which seems to point to the vanity of human things.

8. Calicut

In ancient writings we find various accounts of Calicut.(3) We shall choose here the account given by Pyrard De Laval, who visited it in 1607.

He writes as follows: "There is no place in all India where contentment is more universal than at Calicut, both on account of the beauty and fertility of the country and the intercourse with men of all races, who live there in free exercise of their own religions. ...... The King is greatly esteemed as a man of high spirit, albeit of changeable humour, for he will greatly love, and then as greatly hate the same person, and afterwards of a sudden receive him again into his friendship. Wherefore no one puts his trust in him; he will take from any hand that gives, and himself confessed that he was a friend of those who gave him the best presents. He is very affable and pleasant, as well to strangers as to his own people; yet he is very choleric also, and is greatly feared by all his Nairs, who are ever apprehensive of his anger."[6]

"When by chance a Gentile becomes a Christian, as happens frequently, if his wife will not become of the same faith, she must act in all respects as if her husband were dead, except that she does not burn herself alive; she only cuts her hair, separates herself from all society and lives the rest of her days in solitude. These Gentile Kings put not any restraint on liberty of conscience in their territories; for every day one sees at Calicut and other places a mixing of Christians

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 366.

and Moors or Mahometans, and these Mahometans rival each other in assisting those who are converted to their faith.

"If a Mahometan becomes a Christian and his wife cares not to do so, she is not obliged to perform the same ceremonies as the others; she can marry again three months afterwards which is the prescribed interval."[7] "For the purpose of trade there is at Calicut a Factor on behalf of the Viceroy of Goa, assisted by a clerk, along with their wives and families. The Factor is a kind of Agent or Ambassador, having also the power of issuing passports to the Indian merchants. ...... There reside also two Jesuit Fathers, the one an Italian (no doubt Fr. Fenicio), the other a Portuguese, who are well received of the King and get from him a pension of 100 crowns a year, worth more than 500 in Spain, besides what they have from the King of Portugal for their living and maintenance. They have builded a very handsome and large Church, with an enclosure and Cemetery attached, near the seashore on ground presented by the King; and they have the King's leave and licence to convert the people to Christianity so long as they use no constraint. ...... Their labours had borne good fruit at the time of my departure for there were already a good number of new Christians. They preached publicly in their Church and not elsewhere. They are very well housed and have very fine gardens and before their Church is a large Cross. The Christians all have their houses in the same quarter near to one another, which they have themselves built. There are, however, some among them who are not Christians, and even in the same house will sometimes be found inmates of different religions. Among these new Christians none, I believe, will be found to eat the flesh of cows, bulls or buffaloes. ...... These Jesuit Fathers had the ear of the King, who liked them much, and they took great care to do nothing displeasing to him. They used to go often to the palace of the King to treat of affairs, assisted by Portuguese, Indian Christians and metifs. We enjoyed their society some time, and they gave us a good reception. But the King and all the men of Calicut frequently gave us warning not to eat or drink with them, for fear lest they should poison us;

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 390.

also not to go abroad at night lest they should do us some injury—that is the Portuguese in general; for they were extremely jealous at our presence there and at the King's favour towards us."[8] The reason for this was that Laval and his companions were suspected of being in league with the Dutch and of being Lutherans. Later on he tells us that "one of the Fathers behaved very roughly towards us. He was an Italian, but I forget his name. ...... The other, a Portuguese named Fr. Hillaire, was very pleasant and agreeable and consoled us unceasingly" (p. 420).

It would be very interesting to describe the adventures of poor Pyrard on his journey to Cochin, but we have no space available. He says that "at Tanor the Portuguese have a Church, also a Jesuit Father, a Factor and some other Christians as at Calicut" (p. 426).

9. Della Valle's Visit to Calicut (1623)

Sixteen years after Pyrard De Laval's visit to Calicut a Roman traveller, by name Della Valle, visited the town. As Calicut is the headquarters of our present Mission, we hope to be pardoned if we dwell a little longer on it, and give here some of Della Valle's impressions of the town. Since peace with the Zamorin had not been concluded, the church which had been destroyed since De Laval's visit, had not yet been rebuilt.

So Della Valle does not mention it. From his narrative it appears how dangerous navigation was along the Indian Coast. No wonder if, at times, Fathers travelling from Goa to Cochin ran the risk of imprisonment, and even death. Again we can gather from the narrative that the Fathers had left Calicut because the Portuguese had had to abandon the town.

Della Valle was most observant, and his description of places and manners is both interesting and accurate. He writes as follows: "On the 19th of December 1623 we left Mangalore, and on the night of the 20th we reached Cannanore, without, however, entering the port. ...... On the 21st, twice did we

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 405–06.

encounter paros, which are light vessels belonging to Malabar pirates, of whom this coast is full ...... and twice did we get ready to fight against them; but they escaped, taking shelter within the rivers which are numerous on this coast. The night between the 21st and 22nd December we touched Calicut. Early on the morning of the 22nd the two men of the Samori that were with us, and one of our soldiers landed. After dinner I landed also, together with the Capitano and other soldiers. The people of Calicut were very curious to see the Portuguese for, the latter being always at war with the Samorin, they rarely landed there. We went to see the Bazaar, which is near the seashore. The houses, or rather huts, are built of earth and palm leaves, being very low; the streets also are very narrow but indifferently long. The market was full of all sorts of provisions, and other things necessary to the livelihood of the people, conformable to their custom; for, as for clothing, they need little, both men and women going quite naked, saving that they have a piece either of cotton or silk hanging down from the girdle to the knees and covering their shame; the better sort are wont to wear either all blue or white stripped with azure, or azure and some other colour, a dark blue being most esteemed amongst them. Moreover, both men and women wear their hair long, and tied about the head, the women with a lock hanging on one side under the ear becomingly enough, as almost all Indian women do; the dressing of whose head is, in my opinion, the gallentest that I have seen in any other nation. The men have a lock hanging down from the crown of the head, sometimes a little inclined on one side; some of them use a small coloured head band, but the women use none at all. Both sexes have their arms full of bracelets, their ears of pendants, and their necks of jewels; the men commonly go with their naked sword and bucklers or other arms in their hands. ...... The seashore is swarming with Mahamedan pirates, whose roberies are famous throughout India ...... whence in the bazaar of Calicut besides the things above mentioned we saw sold good store of the Portuguese commodities, as swords, arms, books, cloths of Goa and the like merchandises taken from Portuguese vessels at sea: which things, because stolen, and on account of the excommunication, are not bought by the Christians.

While we were going along in this fashion we met one of those men who had been in Goa to the Viceroy ...... and he invited us to go to the palace of his King. .... Accordingly we walked a good way towards the palace, for the city is great, and we found it to consist of plots beset with abundance of high trees among the boughs thereof a great many wild monkies; and within these close groves stand the houses for the most part at a distance from the common ways or streets; they appear but little, few of their outsides being seen, besides the low walls made of a black stone surrounding these plots, and dividing them from the streets, which are much better than those of the bazaar, but without any ornament of windows; so that he that walks through the city may think that he is rather in the midst of uninhabited gardens than of an inhabited city. Nevertheless, it is well peopled, and hath many inhabitants, whose being contented with narrow buildings is the cause that it appears but small. .... At the court we found Cicco, a Portuguese boy, who had become an Indian both in habit and tongue, but not, as he told us, and as his name showed, a renegade, but still a Christian. That was, I believe, because the Indians do not admit, nor do care to admit foreigners into their law. ...... Among the Courtiers, besides Cicco, there was also a grown-up man, a Christian also, as he said. Formerly he had been a slave of the Portuguese, but, through love of liberty, he had run away, and had found shelter here among the royal soldiers. These served as interpreters, but not very well, for the grown-up did not speak Portuguese well; and Cicco, having been taken when small, remembered but little of his mother tongue. ......

We left Calicut on the 23rd, when the sun was already high ...... and at dawn on the 25th we reached Cannanore" (pp. 266–87).

10. Cannanore

Though the Jesuits never resided at Cannanore yet, since it is within our present Mission, it will not be out of place to add here Della Valle's account of his visit there. He continues: "We landed immediately in order to attend divine service. Cannanore is small; it is situated on the sea. The city is surrounded by walls, not very strong and well made; and in some parts—I do not know by what negligence—they are in ruins.(4)

Inside there are four Churches: the Sede (Parish Church), the Misericordia, which is a Confraternity and pious institution, which is to be found in every Portuguese settlement. They are connected with one another and they do many good works, like our *Montes Pietatis, Holy Spirit,* and such like. In fact, almost all the good works which among us are done by various houses and societies, among the Portuguese are done by the Misericordia: as for instance, keep deposits, pass on letters of exchange safely, help the poor, the sick, hospitals, prisons, gather foundlings, marry young maids, guard bad women who have been converted, redeem slaves and all those works which a city may be in need of. This is truly a holy thing and of infinite help to the public; the more so that it is found in all Portuguese settlements, and they all have correspondence together, even those of India with those of Portugal; so that it is one thing spread everywhere, from which all gather incredible utility. This holy institution is governed by laymen. However, only worthy persons are admitted, in definite numbers and under certain conditions. But the good works do not benefit the Brethren of the Misericordia, but all the public in general with great charity. ..... The other two Churches in Cannanore—besides the two already mentioned—are that of St. Francis, where live the Friars of that Order, and the other, which, if I remember well, is called Santa Maria della Vittoria. Outside Cannanore there is an entrenched village, near the city walls, which is under Portuguese jurisdiction. In front, at a distance of about a musket's shot, there is the Bazaar, which is under the jurisdiction of the Gentiles. ...... On the 26th of December we raised anchor."

Della Valle was better informed than Pyrard de Laval, who speaks of a Jesuit College in Cannanore. There may have been a school, but not under the management of the Jesuits. Also Barretto, in his *Relazione* (p. 12), speaks of the Misericordia of Cannanore "in which there is some revenue applied for the Redemption of the Portuguese who have been enslaved by the Moors", and he adds that the piety of the Portuguese everywhere in India leaves money for this purpose" (pp. 288–89).

11. Mangalore

At various times did the Portuguese wage war against the Queen of Ullal which is now a small village, south of Mangalore. Peace was established in 1599, but the valiant Queen was compelled to raze her fortress to the ground.

Of the various Kinglets of Kanara, the most powerful were the Kings of Ikeri. In 1560, Sadasiva Govinda was granted the Government of Gooty, Barkur and Mangalore by the King of Vijayanagar. From 1604 to 1626, the King of Ikeri or Bednore was Venktappa Naik. He defeated and slew Baira Devi, the Jain Queen of Bhaktal, and devastated the towns of Karkal, Barkur and Mudbidri, which are all found in the South Kanara District, whose Headquarters are in Mangalore. In a letter, dated 19th December 1616, the Portuguese Viceroy describes Venktappa Naik as being already at the gates of Mangalore, threatening to drive out the King of Bangher. The latter paid him a tribute. The King of Ikeri was friendly with the Portuguese, and they freely traded in pepper with his country. But the friendship did not last long. In 1617, they made an alliance against him with the King of Bangher, who made over his fortress to them. In the battles that followed, the Portuguese were successful, till the month of August of the same year, when Bangher was besieged and set fire to. In 1618, Luis de Mello and Dom Francisco de Miranda, the Capitao Mor of Malabar, were defeated by Bentacanayque (Venktappa Naik), who had attacked them with 1,200 Canariens. The Queen of Ullal gained independence from the Portuguese, but fell under the sovereignty of the King of Ikeri.

In the year 1623, Mangalore was visited by the Italian traveller, Pietro della Valle. He describes the fort as "the worst built of any I have seen in India". The city "is encompassed with weak walls". "There are three Churches, namely, the See, or Cathedral of Our Lady of the Rosary, within the Fort, La Misericordia and San Francesco without. Yet in Mangalore, there are but three Ecclesiastics in all, two Franciscan Friars in San Francesco and one Vicar Priest, to whose charge, with very small revenues, belong all the other Churches."

Della Valle found the site of Ullal, "not only very pleasant, but it might also be made very strong, if it were in the hands of people that knew how to do it". "Olala is inhabited confusedly, both by Gentiles, who burn themselves and also by Malabar Moors." The Queen had married the King of Bangaher, but now they lived apart. In fact, their difference had grown to such a pitch that the Queen divorced the King. Later on, he captured her, while she was out on a boating excursion. But she succeeded in regaining her freedom. Then she allied herself with Venktappa Naik, in order to take revenge. Bangher allied himself with the Portuguese. The latter were defeated because of their foolish self-confidence. Yet the Raja did not conquer Mangalore, contrary to the Queen's wishes. In the end he even made a treaty with the Portuguese, and obtained from them the Fort of Bangher, which he razed to the ground.

There were evil rumours about the Queen, that she had poisoned one of her sons. But Della Valle does not credit them. She appeared to him to be about forty years of age, dark and yet graceful, dirty, but not without dignity. She was prudent in talking and very industrious.

Della Valle gives a long description of the Queen's palace, which he calls a Royal Hut (*Capanna Reale*), of his interview with the Queen and with the Prince.

He speaks also of the Queen of Carnate, two or three leagues North of Mangalore, who, owing to the cowardice and treachery of her own, was beaten by Venktappa Nayak and her city was dismantled.

12. Della Valle's Description of the Kadri Temple

Most interesting is Della Valle's description of the temples and *Yogis* of Kadri (Cadira) in Mangalore. The temple is still extant, and those who have visited it can confirm the accuracy of the description. "On the edge of the plain, where the ascent of the hill begins, is a great cistern or lake, from which, ascending a flight of stairs with the face turned towards the North, you enter into a gate, which hath a covered porch and is the first of the whole enclosure, which is surrounded with a wall and a ditch, like a fort. Having entered the said gate, and going straight forward through a handsome broad walk,

beset on either side with sundry fruit trees, you come to another gate, where there are stairs and a porch higher than the former. This opens into a square Piazza, or great court, in the middle thereof stands a temple of indifferent greatness, and for architecture like the other temples of other Indian Gentiles. .... Behind the temple, on the side of the court, is a kind of shed .... with a chariot in it, which served to carry the idol in procession upon certain festivals. Also in two or three other places of the side of the court, there are little square Chapels for other idols. On the North side of the court is another gate opposite to the former, by which going out and descending some steps you see a great cistern or lake of a long form, built with black stone and stairs leading down to the surface of the water; in one place next the wall, 'tis divided into many little cisterns and it serves for the ministers of the temple to wash themselves in and perform the ceremonies. The gate of the temple looks eastwards where the hill begins to raise very high and steep. From the front of the temple to the top of the hill are long and broad stairs of the same black stone, which lead up to it and then the place is afterwards plain. Where the stairs begin stands a high, straight and round brazen pillar ty'd about in several places with little fillets; it is about 60 palms high and one and a half thick from the bottom to the top, with little diminution. On this pillar are placed about 17 round brazen wheels, made with many spokes round about like stars: they are to support the lights in great festivals, and are distant about three palms one from another. The top terminates in a great brazen candlestick of five branches, of which the middlemost is highest, the other four of equal height.

The foot of the pillar is square and hath an idol engraven on each side; the whole structure is or at least seems to be all of one piece.

The temple, to wit the inner part where the idol stands, is likewise all covered with brass. They told me that the walls of the whole enclosure, which are now covered with leaves, were sometimes covered with large plates of brass; but Venktappa Naieka carried the same away, when in the War of Mangalore his army pillaged all these countries, which whether it is true or no, I know not. The walls of a less inclosure (wherein, according to their custom, the temple stands) are also surrounded on the outside with eleven wooden rails up to the top, distant one above the other little more than an architectural palm; these also have to bear lights on festival occasions; which must needs make a brave show, the temple thereby appearing as if it were all on fire. This temple is dedicated to an idol called Moginato. Of what form it is I know not, because they would not suffer us to enter in to see it.

Having viewed the temple I ascended the hill by the stairs, and passing a good way forward on the top thereof came to the habitations of the Gioghi and their King; the place is plain, planted with many trees, under which are raised many great stone pavements, a little height above the ground, for them to sit upon in the shade. There are an infinite number of little square chapels with several idols in them and some covered overhead, but open roundabout, for the Gioghi to entertain themselves in. And lastly there is the King's house, which is very low built. I saw nothing of it, (and believe it is nothing more) but a small porch, with walls round about, coloured with red and painted with elephants and other animals, besides in one place a wooden thing like a square bed, somewhat raised from the ground, covered with a cloth like a tent; they told me it was the place where the King used to reside and perhaps also to sleep. The King was not here now, but was gone to a shed or cottage in a great plain field, to see something done, I know not what .. I thought to find abundance of Gioghi here, as in our Convents, but I saw not above one or two; and they told me they resort not together, but remain dispersed here and there as they list or abide in several places in the temples where they please, nor are subject to their King in point of obedience, as ours are to their superior, but only do him reverence and honour and at certain solemn times great number of them assemble here to whom during their stay the King supplies victuals .... They tell me that what he possesses within and without the hermitage yields him about five or six thousand pagodas yearly, the greatest part thereof he spends in feasts, and the rest in diet, and in what is needful for the ordinary services of the temple and his idols; and that Venktappa Naieka had

not yet taken tribute of him, but it was feared he would hereafter" .... "At length I went to see the King of the Gioghi, and found him employed in his business after a mean sort, like a peasant or villager.

He was an old man with a long white beard, but strong and lusty; in either ear hung two balls which seemed to be of gold, I know not whether empty or full, about the bigness of a musket bullet; the holes in his ears were large, and the lobes much stretched by the weight; on his head he had a little red bonnet, such as our galley slaves wear, which caps are brought out of Europe to be sold in India with good profit. From the girdle upwards he was naked, only he had a piece of cotton wrought with lozenges of several colours across his shoulders; he was not very dark, and for an Indian of colour, rather white than otherwise. He seemed a man of judgment, but upon trial in sundry things I found him not learned. He told me that formerly he had horses, elephants, palanchinos and a great equipage and power before Venktappa Naieka took away all from him, so that now he had very little.

That within twenty days after there was to be a great feast in that place, to which many Gioghi would repair from several parts that it would be worth my seeing, and that I should meet one that could speak Arabick, and Persian, and was very learned, who could give me satisfaction as to many things ... I asked him to give me his name in writing, for my memory since I was come to see him. He answered me (as the Orientals for the most part do to such curious demands) "To what purpose was it?", and in fine, he would not give it to me; but I perceived it was through a vain and ignorant fear that it might be of some mischief to him.

Nevertheless at my going away, I was told by others that he was called Batinato." So far Pietro della Valle.

13. Through the Kanara Mission

We shall add here a description of Kanara as we find it in the "*Viaggio*" of the Carmelite Fra Vincenzo, of whom we shall have to speak at length in the second volume of this History. The description refers to the year 1657. Things have changed a good deal from that time, and not all for the better.

Fra Vincenzo says of Kanara that it is one of the finest Kingdoms in India.[9]

Near the sea it is flat. Its mountains are well inhabited. The people, however, are most superstitious. The land is watered by numerous rivers, which make it so fertile that it gives abundant rice three times a year. Its pepper is not so good as the Malabar pepper. The ordinary occupation of the common people is weaving, for cotton is abundant. It is not sown, but it grows into a tree .... Cattle is plentiful. The forests are so thick, that the sun cannot pierce them. There are tigers and monkeys, the latter very numerous, the former harmful to beasts, not to man. The roads are so good that one walks as in a garden; usually they are flanked by trees, tall and fine; under which, every two or three miles one may drink curds as refreshment, offered at the expense of the King. The people are of good judgment and capacity, shrewd and courteous and friendly to strangers. Of the men, a good many wear shorts, but exceedingly tight. Others—except big people who wear long habits—dress like the Malayalees. The women are more modest. The King is a Brahmin by birth; prudent, judicious, of sound morals. He loves justice so much that in his dominions one does not hear of any robbery. Travellers, even if they were loaded with money, would be safe. The King is well inclined towards the Christians, saying openly that there is no better law, nor more wisely regulated. That is why he loves and favours Christians. He is good and lucky in war, and within a few years he has taken from the Portuguese the forts of Onor, Barzelor and Mangalore, which they had in his Kingdom ......"

The first day then, walking along the seashore the party arrived at a temple, at the door of which there were many girls, covered with jewels, the hair adorned with flowers, who with their songs and gestures invited the Gentiles to sin,

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[9] Baldaeus (1672) also writes: "The Country of Kanara is very fertile in rice and other necessaries of human life. Its inhabitants, commonly called Kanarins, are very robust and fit for all manner of hard labour" (p. 621). Of Barzelor, Baracor and Mangalore he says that "being places of no great consequence, they deserve no particular descriptions" (p. 621).

thinking it is great virtue to maintain the temple with money got out of their devilry.

Of Olala Fr. Vincenzo has very little to say. He does not speak of the Mangalore Churches; but passed the night in the house of a Brahmin woman, who, for having refused to commit *sati,* was despised by everybody and was a slave of the King. She cooked a little rice for them, but then, noticing that one of the party had spat in the house, she began to cry out that her Gods had punished her by sending unclean people to her house, and she compelled them to smear the floor with cow-dung. Next day the Fathers proceeded to Banel, then to Carnat and finally to Galianapur—a very wealthy place—where they went to the house of a Christian woman, who much edified them by her constancy in the faith, though deprived of the Ministers of Religion and of the Sacraments. Proceeding to Bacanur they were gladdened by the fertility of the fields, the beauty of the roads, the diligence of cultivation; they were saddened, however, by the number of idols, the frequency of pagan temples and the strange processions. In Barcelor they were received with great feast by many Portuguese and local Christians. They found that in the Kingdom of Kanara there were about six thousand Christians, living without Priests, without Sacraments, without instruction.

14. Of the Portuguese Government in India in the Sixteenth Century

At the head of the Government there was the Viceroy, who came from Portugal, or the Governor, who was appointed in India. His authority was supreme, distributing the various offices, according to his pleasure, suspending or punishing the civil or military officers, even with capital punishment. He was allowed practically everything, for, before the complaints could reach Portugal, and redress could be obtained, he had nearly finished his term of office. Examples, however, are not wanting of Governors or even Viceroys being punished upon their return to Portugal, for their misdeeds.

When a new Viceroy arrived, he was led from the boat to the Convent of St. Francis. There the old Viceroy came to see him the next day. The meeting took place in the Church, where the King's letters were read. The Secretary next read the lists of Forts, Castles, Gallions, etc., belonging to the State. Then the old Viceroy, remained either in the Convent, or in a house outside Goa, till the time suitable for navigation arrived. On a fixed day the new Viceroy entered the City of Goa with great pomp; was received in the Cathedral by the Archbishop, where he swore on the Gospel to fulfil his duty.

The Viceroy's term of office lasted usually three years. Should he come to die, the King's letters called *Vias,* which were preserved in the Franciscan Convent, were opened, and the name of the Governor read out. In the same Convent was kept also the Royal Treasure. The first among the Viceroy's Councillors was the Primate. After the Viceroy there were the Governors of Ceylon, Persian Gulf, San Thome, Malacca and China. There was also a Captain-General of the Fleet, besides the Major (Mor) Captains for the North and for the South.

In all the towns there were the Ouvidors or Judges to decide over civil matters. In Goa there was a Supreme Court or *Desembàrgo,* which had absolute jurisdiction in matters both civil and criminal, except the criminal cases of the Nobility, which were settled in Portugal.

The ecclesiastical tithes were gathered by Government, and the Ecclesiastics received their "*Ordinarias*". The Archbishop of Goa got about 6,000 ducats, Cochin 2,500, the other Bishops 1,000 each, the Inquisitors 800, and so proportionately down to the last Churchman. Even the Religious received from Government their Ordinarias. The Jesuits used to hold public and solemn baptisms, at which the Viceroy was usually present.

The newly baptized received a new dress. Orphans were to be instructed and baptized, notwithstanding opposition on the part of their relatives.

In every city there was the so-called "Misericordia", of which Pietro Della Valle has left us a description for Cannanore. Their object was the exercise of the works of mercy, like visiting the prisoners, helping the poor, burying the dead, providing poor girls with a dowry and so on.

15. Of the Rajahs of Malabar in the Sixteenth Century

Starting from the north we meet *Cannanore*, which was divided from Kanara by a high wall, running from the Ghauts to the Sea. It numbered over 200,000 Nayars, all ready for war. It was cut up by deep and narrow roads, which were well kept, and by groves and forests, which made it very easy to defend and guard. It numbered 240 districts, and when the Rajah was crowned, he was preceded by 240 well-adorned palanquins.

Towards the middle of the seventeenth century, the Rajah was a Brahmin, so superstitious that he spent most of his time in the temple, and on the temples bestowed most of his treasures. He had 50 sons, among whom he had divided the kingdom.

The next Kingdom is *Travancore*, having about the same number of soldiers. It runs down the coast to Cape Comorin. The land is not as fertile as that of Cannanore. The King, at the time we are dealing with (1600–50) was a Nayar, who made himself a Brahmin by being born from a golden cow.

Between Cochin and Cannanore there were the dominions of the *Zamorin*. Since the coming of the Portuguese, the Zamorin was at perpetual war with the Rajah of Cochin, who, being protected by the Portuguese, held himself free from the Zamorin's suzerainty. The best buildings in Calicut were the Zamorin's palace (Talam) and the Christian Church. The Zamorin was called Quetris (Ksattrya?) His Nayars are over 150,000. *Cochin* was more powerful than the Zamorin. At his coronation the Rajah used to go to the Cathedral, where his Vassals swore fealty, and he promised alliance with the Portuguese. *Tecancuti* was a kingdom, stretching out towards the mountains. It numbered about 150,000 Nayars.

Then there were the Kingdoms of *Tanur*, not far from Calicut, of the *Salt*, near Cannanore; it was so called because Salt was made in its lagoons; *Paru*, whose Prince was a Priest; *Margati and Angamale*; *Barcati*, under whose jurisdiction there were numerous Christians; *Porca*, whose Rajah was a Brahmin; Calicaulano (*Kulli-Quilon*), where lived many Gentiles, Moors and Thomas Christians; *Marta*; *Tamunancur*; *Oilanta*; *Kuntambail*; *Murienate*; *Corigere*; *Rapolim*; *Mundare*.

From the above it is clear that Malabar was divided and subdivided in such a manner, as to appear almost incredible how so many kingdoms could be contained in such a small country. *Fra Vincenzo*, whom we have followed in the above enumeration, affirms that the soldiers alone in Malabar were over one million. The lands are well watered by rivers. Hence it is easy to travel; most of the travelling being done by boat.

Rice, vegetables, pepper, cinnamon and other spices are most abundant.

Usually the Rajahs were kind to the Fathers. We shall see, however, that at the time of the Schism, the rebellious Christians often found help and encouragement from the Rajahs, who could not oppress them when united, but could easily tax them when weakened by quarrels and divisions.

The Rajahs often gave lands, timber and stones for the building of churches; but as often encouraged the destruction of the churches, and the persecution of the Christians.

16. Of the Different Castes

In the sixteenth century, just as at the present day, the Caste System constituted one of the chief obstacles to conversion. The system in Malabar has assumed an extraordinary complexity. For the sixteenth century we shall follow the description given by *Fra Vincenzo* (pp. 246–49).

The First Caste is that of the Priests or *Brahmins*. In Malabar they are called *Namburi* (*Nambudris*), which are divided into nine subcastes: (1) The *Tirinamburi*, who are always shut up in the temples. They correspond to our Bishops and are honoured like Saints. Their remains are not cremated, but buried in the temples. They offer sacrifices, and guard the idols. They have no wife. They are supposed to live a celibate life, not because they do not touch women, but because they are not supposed to look at them. Yet they do keep some sort of continence. (2) The *Patadesi Namburi*, who receive oblations, and are the Oracles and Counsellors of Princes. Their women, called *Agatone*, go about with parasols before their faces, and always covered. (3) The *Ciatada Namburi*, who prescribe the ceremonies, solve doubts, and study more than the rest. (4) *Simple Namburis*, who carry

out the ceremonies, anoint the idols and the walls of the temples. (5) The *Pateres*, who wear chaplets round the neck and repeat the names of their Gods over and over again. (6) The *Eulunambi* carry the idols in procession. (7) The *Picella Pateres* fan and adorn the idols. (8) The *Embrandeci* guard the treasure of the Temple. (9) The *Eleda* attend to *Ciatta* (banquets) and other ceremonies for the dead.

The Second Caste is that of the soldiers (*Nairi*), who are subdivided into fifteen subcastes.

The Third Caste is that of the *Cegos* or *Bandarini* who cultivate the palm trees. (1) The *Bellacumarera* gather the cocoanuts. (2) The *Tiveri* prepare the *Sura* (Soro), *Oracha* (arrack, etc.). (3) The *Bati* prepare the sugar (black or white). Their headman or *Tendana* does no work, settles disputes, etc.

The Fourth Caste is that of the *Goldsmiths*, in which art they are excellent, though their tools are few and primitive.

The Carpenters or *Giari*, are subdivided into many castes, from those who do inlaid work, to those who build houses, roofs and so on. The Fishermen or *Mucuvas* are distinct according as they fish in the sea or in the river. Then there are the Barbers, the Smiths, the Washermen, the Masons, the Drum players, the Charlatans, the Tottias, the Pulias (agriculturists). Again, these are subdivided into numerous sub-castes.

All can touch any beast; many can touch dirty things; but mutual touch among castes is forbidden. If that happens, the member of a higher caste must bathe, in order to get rid of the pollution. Those who do not care are punished. We are not half as careful to avoid a man who suffers from a contagious disease, as they are to avoid each other. On the roads, the inferior must yield to the superior. To Brahmins even Europeans must yield precedence. If a fisherman wishes to sell his fish to a soldier, he places it in the middle of the road, some 20 or 25 paces far away. When the bargain is over, the soldier takes up the fish, leaving the money in its stead. When the Pulias walk along the road, they sadly announce their coming. Should others approach, the Pulias must run away, otherwise they may be killed. No interdining or intermarrying between different castes. The same holds

with regard to Rajahs. No one gives water from his own well to a lower caste, otherwise the well is polluted. To purify a well they throw in burning coals and red-hot brass.

One lives and dies in his own caste. Hence no rivalry, no emulation; but contentment.

The Malabars are most strict in the matter of caste; less so, the Canarese; much less the Gujaratis.

The familiarity with which Europeans deal indifferently with all castes, is to their disadvantage. The Heathen acknowledge that in ability, judgment, wisdom, valour, wealth, they are above all. But they detest this indiscriminate communication—especially the Brahmins. Hence, unless interest move them, they avoid Europeans. For this reason, they do not embrace our Religion. Hence Missionaries have begun to adopt these customs and rites, in order to draw these souls to God.

Though these things were written in the sixteenth century, many of them are true even now.

17. Of the Family System

Often the Missionaries in Malabar complained (and do complain even now) of the difficulties to conversion which they found in the organization of the family. We shall just touch upon this subject. Among several castes in Malabar there exists the *Marumakattayam* (descent through sister's children), which entails no legal obligation on the part of the husband towards his wife and children. The latter belong to the mother's caste, not to the father's. The Brahmins, however, follow the *Makattayam* system, by which the child belongs to the father's family.

The joint family, or *Tarwad*, consists of all the descendants of a common ancestress in the female line only.

The offspring of a *Sambandan* union belong to the mother's *tarwad*, and have no claim on the father's property. The *tarwad* property is the property of all, and each member is entitled to maintenance from it, but has no claim to partition. Should he then become a Christian, he loses everything; he is like a tree with the roots in the air. The family property is usually managed by the eldest male member, who is called

the *Karnavan*, and who can only be removed with the greatest difficulty.

The Brahmin account of this curious system is that it was ordained by Parasuraman, who bade the women of the Sudra class to "put off chastity, and the cloth that covered their breasts" and declared that such women were created to satisfy the desires of the Brahmins. Hence, "they belonged to any Brahmin, who wished to enjoy them". Since then the father of the eventual offspring would be unknown, the offspring would belong to the mother, *"Proles sequitur ventrem"*. Another theory connects the system to the military character of the Nayars. "Marriage is interdicted and all other recreations except warre", writes Montaigne, of the nobility of Calicut.

Loose morals are the natural consequence.

Thus in the *Annual Letter* dated 20th December 1600, we find that the Father who was working in Calicut had no conversions, owing "to the obstinacy of the Nayars, who, of all the peoples of the East, are the most difficult to be brought to Christianity". The reason assigned in the letter is mainly their marriage customs "which are similar in all to the infamous Republic of Plato". To explain this criptic expression, we shall quote a passage from Duarte Barbosa, who travelled in Malabar in the beginning of the sixteenth century and whose narrative of his voyages shows that he was, as a rule, a careful and accurate observer: "These (Nayars) are not married nor maintain women or children; their nephews, the sons of their sisters, are their heirs. The Nayar women are all accustomed to do with themselves what they please with Brahmins or Nayars, but not with other people of lower class under pain of death. After they are ten or twelve years old or more, their mothers perform a marriage ceremony for them. ...... But the bridegroom leaves the bride and goes away without touching her on account of being her relation; and if he is not so he may remain with her, if he wish it, but he is not bound to do so if he does not desire it. And from that time forward, the mother goes begging some young men to deflower the girl, for amongst themselves they hold it an unclean thing and almost a disgrace to deflower women. And after she is already a woman the mother goes about seeking who will take her daughter to live with him. But when she is pretty, three or four Nayars join together and agree to maintain her and to live with her; and the more she has the more highly she is esteemed. ...... The children which she has remain at the expense of the mother and of the brothers of the mother, who bring them up because they do not know the fathers. ...... It is said that the kings made this law in order that the Nayars should not be covetous and should not abandon the king's service."

18. Of the Religion of Malabar in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

We have no intention of venturing into the ocean of Indian Religions. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, they have been studied under all possible aspects both by Western and Eastern scholars. But we shall trace the barest outline of Hinduism in Malabar as it was at the time of our History. The sources are not wanting. Already in 1552, Balt. Nunez, S.J., in his letter from Goa to his Brethren in Portugal, describes the temple and worship of Rameswaram. In 1583, the famous visitor, Valignani, S.J., describes at length the Religion and Ceremonies of the Indians.

In 1600, Lucena, S.J., in his *Vida do P. F. de Xavier*, devotes two chapters to the Theology, Religion and Superstitions of the Brahmins.

In 1609, Fr. J. Fenicio, S.J., writes from Calicut his famous *Livro da Seita Dos Indios Orientais*.

In 1614, Seb. Gonsalves, S.J., in his *Historia da Companhia na India*, has several chapters on the Gods, Temples, Ceremonies, etc., of the Hindus.

Similarly, Diogo Gonsalves, S.J., in his *Historia do Malavar* (1615).

Finally, Leonardo Cinamo, S.J., the founder of the Mission in Mysore, wrote in 1648, *l'Istoria del Canara*, and there too we find many details regarding the Hinduism of those times.

Then, as now, the three chief Gods were Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva, though the cult of Shiva in Malabar was not very prominent. The government of the world was attributed to Vishnu, who had appeared as an Avatar many times. Rama

and Krishna were the most famous Avatars. Very popular in Malabar was Ganapathi, or Quinavadi. Writes Fr. Fenicio: "The Malbaries adore one whom they call Quinavadi, whom they believe to be the Son of God. He is monstrous in shape, for he has an elephant's head and the body of a man. They say that he presides over the evil. The fear they have of him, the reverence with which they treat him is great. They begin no work without first remembering their Quinavadi. One who wishes to write, writes at the beginning the name of Quinavadi, with two or three words in his praise, and then tears off that piece of the "Olla" and offers it in honour of the idol; and finally, just as we make the sign of the cross at the beginning of our actions, in the same way they make use of their Quinavadi. They do this in order that the work may succeed well and that this devil may not hurt them, for he is the prince of the evil. But it is not difficult to convince them of this and similar absurdities."

The male Gods had their counterparts in as many Goddesses—the Goddess of Wisdom, of Plenty, of Mercy and so on.

The Brahmins were convinced of the unity and infinity of God; but they encouraged idolatry among the common people, whom they exploited.

We have read the description of the temple of Kadri by Della Valle. Most of the temples in the South did not differ greatly from it, though, of course, the temples of Tanjore, of Madura, of Trichinopoly were, and are even now, marvels of architecture and oriental grandeur. Many of the temples were built out of the cities in places secluded and solitary. The people made great gifts to the temples, many of which were extremely rich. Thus the temple of Trevilar had 300 vessels of massive gold, where every day the idol was bathed. Near Cannanore there was a temple covered with golden laminæ, one cubit long and one palm broad.

Often young girls were dedicated to the Gods, and lived in the temples as prostitutes. The earnings of their trade went to enrich the temples.

The sacrifices varied according to circumstances. Goats, cocks, and at times even human beings, were sacrificed to the Gods. Not infrequently fanatics drove hooks through their

arms and back, and were lifted up and swung before the statue of the idol. Great and most impressive processions were usually conducted by night, at the sound of drums and under the quivering light of innumerable torches.

Impossible to describe the superstitions in which the people were immersed. There were *mantrams* to secure love, wealth, longevity; *mantrams* to obtain fecundity; *mantrams* to achieve revenge.

The people are very charitable. They never send away the poor—who are innumerable—empty handed. They have hospitals not only for men and women, but also for bulls and cows. Their veneration for the cow is proverbial. If a cow is brought near a woman in labour, the birth will be most happy. A dying man will secure his salvation if he can hold a cow's tail in his hand till he expires. The Zamorin of Calicut, the first thing he does in the morning, is to go and feed the cows. In some cities the joining together of bull and cow is solemnized with the greatest pomp. Cow-dung has purificatory power. The floors of houses and temples are smeared with it. With its ashes men smear their arms, forehead and chest. The Hindus believe in *transmigration,* which would solve the problem of evil and secure a well-appointed system of punishments and rewards.

But enough of this inexhaustible subject.

19. Of the Culture of the South Indians in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

No architecture, painting or sculpture were used for private buildings, which were of the most humble description. More art was exhibited in the temples, though no temple on the West Coast can compare with the temples of Madura, Srirangam, Tanjore. Though naturally shrewd and clever, the common people were very ignorant. Some learning however could always be found at the Courts of the Rajahs and in the temples. Thus we read in a letter which Fr. Fenicio wrote from Calicut: "I visited a big pagoda where many Brahmins reside, and while conversing, I enquired whether there was any who knew about the sciences of the heavens, the stars, the planets, the eclipses, of natural philosophy, of the beginnings of things. They were annoyed at

these questions, but in order not to lose their reputation they told me that they knew all these sciences but that I could come at another time since they were then occupied with their ceremonies in the temple. One of them older than the rest, told me to go to the residence of the Prince where there was a very learned Brahmin, and that he would account for all those things: accordingly in the evening I went in quest of this Brahmin, Lagna by name, who had already been warned that I was intending to speak to him: hence he came out of the house to receive me most courteously, and with him the princes and the princesses. Our Erary (who is a nephew of the Zamorin, already a Christian, but in secret) was with me, beginning the conversation with the Brahmin and telling him how I wished to treat with him about his sciences, for he enjoyed the credit of a learned man. Refusing the discussion in the presence of such grave people, he excused himself for that time, saying he would go to our house to see me, for he was then engaged in the instruction of the princes. Later on he came to our house, as he had promised. I showed him a sphere: he was very pleased with it and showed signs of understanding it, and gave me at once the names of the circles of the Zodiac, etc., in the Samoscrada language, which is their Latin. It is a thing to wonder at that, throughout this Malabar, the pagans have the same twelve celestial signs, and count by them the 12 months of the year, even in the ordinary language (vernacular), so that they call August, chinguamada (?), that is to say, month of the lion; September, canimada, month of the virgin; and so the rest of the months.

They also count the days of the week by these seven planets, as the Latins: they call Sunday, the dies solis, Monday, dies lunæ, etc., but this in their Samoscrada. They say besides that these planets are not in the same order in the heavens as we count them in the days of the week. These Brahmins do not know of more than seven heavens; they also have matter, form, substance, accidents, and that *non datur vacuum*, etc.

And again, 'In the Mathematical Sciences, not only the Malabarians, but all the Indian Philosophers, are greatly mistaken. They do not believe that the sun goes round the Antipodes; but at sunset, going round behind the Northern mountains, which are so high as to reach the sky, it finally comes back at sunrise. They do not lack the knowledge of the celestial signs, and many things they call by the same names as we do. The Malabarians have their book of Genesis, which they call *Paramancia Dirsti.** We find in this book that the earth rests on the air, the water on silver, the fire on gold and gold on a precious stone; the sky rests on another most precious stone. The earth is, so to say, included within seven seas, which are divided by mountains. The first is salty, the second sweet, the third of sugar, the fourth of wine, the fifth of roses, the sixth milky, the seventh as sweet as sugarcanes. Against these imaginings of people that are sitting in the shadow of death, I spoke and showed them the celestial sphere, and in the presence of the King, I explained the movements of the sun and the moon and the planets, which are so constant in their inconstancy, and the succession of day and night, which varies according to the altitude of the pole, and other things which we are taught by means of the spheres. I brought them a globe covered with smooth paper, on which were shown Calicut in India, Mecca, Portugal and other lands. As I was explaining things, the Brahmins and many other people were present. They gave up before all this, granting that nobody was more learned than the Father."

Some learning then was to be found at the Courts of Rajahs, but surely not of a very high order. The supply corresponds to the demand, and in a commercial centre like Calicut the demand for Brahmin subtleties must not have been great. Similarly, the impression gained by Della Valle of the learning of the chief Yogi of the Kadri Temple was not of a high order.

Trichur, however, was renowned as a centre of knowledge, and later on we shall find "Arnos Padri" studying Sanskrit there. He profited so much as to be able to write a Sanskrit Grammar—the first ever written by a European.

Though Madura is not on the West Coast of India, yet the Malabar Province of the Society worked long and successfully there. In several places we shall speak of that

* The work alluded to is the *Prapanchasristi* supposed to belong to the Rishi Agastya, *i.e.*, Creation of the World.

wonderful Missionary, Fr. Robert de Nobili, who started a novel method of evangelisation in Madura. We shall give here some passages from one of his letters where he shows that learning in Madura was of a high order, and the city, as a centre of culture, could compare favourably with many a University Town in Europe.

In a letter to Fr. Provincial (22nd November 1610), Fr. de Nobili writes that the number of students in the city was about 10,000.

They were taught Philosophy, Theology and other Sciences. They had no idea of experimental science, and the whole atmosphere was metaphysical and abstract.

Fr. de Nobili gives the Syllabus for Logic: "*The First Part* is on *Evidence,* and deals with *Invocation* or adoration, *i.e.,* whether there be a God, Who should be invoked at the beginning of an action. Then Certitude: (*a*) perfect certitude; (*b*) certitude by generation or novel production; (c) the formality or essence of certitude.

Various kinds of objects. On local Union or by contiguity. On various types of union; formal, accidental, etc. On subject and predicate. On the object of sight. On the colour and splendour of gold. On the indivisibility of the will. On reflexion, by which one knows and understands himself, etc. *The Second Part is Science,* and treats of the signs of fallacy, of its cause, and of its confutation. The subject, the discourse, or discursive act. Every kind of fallacy. Of the union of (subject and object) and the essence of (knowledge). Privation. The effect studied in its cause. Every kind of union or conjunction. On the last certitude or consequence. On causes. On evident proof. On certitude from similarity. On error, doubt and variation of hypothesis. On false conclusions from true premises. On God Ruthren. On the multiplicity of causes. On natural force and strength. On superadded force.

The Third Part is Authority and deals with hearing (testimony), the correspondence of words (to thought), common consent, union of affection, desire, the corruption of sound, the destruction of the world (or does it mean the universal deception of mankind? ......), the merit of law;

whether we can affirm what does not exist; novelty; annihilation; imposture; sign, etc., etc.

The impression we gather from all this is one of wonder at the subtlety and depth of the Pundits. Fr. de Nobili, who had not only written down the Syllabus but studied it, made the following comment: "We think these men ignorant! I assure you they are far from being so.

Just now I am reading one of their books, which is truly a philosophical treatise, almost in the same terms as those I studied in Rome, though at bottom their philosophy is very different from ours".

The Brahmins, of course, had the lion's share in the scientific world of those days. Yet other castes were not entirely excluded.

Fr. Vico—the companion of Fr. de Nobili—mentions one convert from Salem, a Paria, who "was well instructed and a renowned master of the sublime tongue". In a letter to Fr. Vitelleschi, he speaks even of a woman, who was a Sanskrit Scholar. "The lady", he says, "astonished me by the extent of her knowledge and the solidity of her judgment. She spoke from the best authors and poets, and I had to adopt a more elegant style to reach her standard."

20. Of the Voyage to India in the Sixteenth Century

The manner of travelling now is so comfortable and quick that it is difficult for us to realise the hardships of the ancient Missionaries in their travels. We shall give a few passages from a letter of Fr. Thomas Stephens, S.J.,—the first Englishman in India—which he wrote to his father from Goa in 1579 and where he describes his voyage to the East. The readers will gather more from it than from any description we might attempt. Writes Fr. Stephens:

"On the 4th of April, five ships departed for Goa, wherein, besides the shipmen and soldiers, there were a great number of children, which in the seas bear out better than men, and no marvel, when that many women also pass very well. The setting forth from the port, I need not tell how solemn it is, with trumpets and shooting of ordnance you may easily imagine it, considering that they go in the manner of war. The tenth of the foresaid month we came to the sight of

Porto Sancto, near unto Madeira, where an English ship set upon ours (which was then also alone) with a few shots, which did no harm, but after that our ship had laid out her greatest ordnance they straightly departed as they came. .... The greatest part of the (Guinea) coast is not clear, but thick and cloudy, full of thunder and lightning and rain, so unwholesome that if the water stands a little while all is full of worms, and falling on the meat which is hanging up, it maketh it straight full of worms. Along that coast we oftentimes saw a thing swimming upon the water like a cock's comb (which they call a ship of Guinea), but the colour much fairer, which comb standeth upon a thing almost like the swimmer of a fish in colour and bigness, and beareth underneath in the water strings, which save it from turning over. The thing is so poisonous that a man cannot touch it without great peril. ...... You know that it is hard to sail from East to West, or contrary, because there is not a fixed point in all the sky whereby they may direct all their course, wherefore I shall tell you what help God provided for these men. There is not a fowl that appeareth, or sign in the air, or in the sea, which they have not written which have made the voyages heretofore. Wherefore, partly by their own experience and pondering with all what space the ship is able to make with such wind and such direction and partly by the experience of others whose books and navigations they have, they guess whereabouts they be touching degree of longitude, for of latitude they be always sure, but the greatest and best industry of all is to mark the variation of the needle or compass, which in the meridian of the island of St. Michael, which is one of the Azores in the latitude of Lisbon, is just North, and then swerveth towards the East so much, that betwixt the meridian aforesaid and the point of Africa it carrieth three or four quarters of thirty-two. And again, in the point of Africa, a little beyond the point that is called Cape Las Agullas, it returneth again unto the North, and that place passed, swerveth again towards the West, as it did here proportionally. As touching our first signs, the nearer we came to the people of Africa, the more strange kinds of fowls appeared .... some of them so great that their wings being

opened from one point to another contained seven spans. .... And to speak somewhat of fishes, in small places of calm, especially in the burning zone near the line, there waited on our ship fishes as long as a man, which they call Tuberones. .... These have waiting on them six or seven small fishes (which never depart), with guards blue and green round about their bodies, like comely serving men; and they go two or three before him and some on every side. Moreover, they have other fishes which cleave always unto their body, and seem to take such superfluities as grow about them, and they are said to enter into their bodies also, to purge them if they need. There is another kind of fish, as big almost as a herring, which hath wings and flieth, and they are together in great number. .... With these and like sights, but always making our supplication to God for good weather and salvation of the ship, we came at length unto the point so famous and feared of all men, but we found there no tempest, only great waves, where our pilot was a little overseen; for whereas commonly all others never come within sight of land, but seeing signs ordinary and finding bottom, go their way sure and safe; he thinking himself to have wind at will, shot so nigh the land that the wind turning into the south and the waves being exceeding great, tossed so near the land that the ship stood in less than fourteen fathoms of water, no more than six miles from the Cape, which is called Las Agullas, and there we stood as utterly cast away; for under us were rocks of mainstone so sharp and cutting that no anchor could hold the ship, the shore so evil that nothing could take land, and the land itself so full of tigers and people that are savage and killers of all strangers, that we had no hope of life or comfort, but only in God and a good conscience. .... Finally, it pleased God's mercy suddenly to fill our sails with wind from land, and so we escaped, thanks be to God. .... Now by reason of the long navigation, and want of food and water, the sailors fall into sundry diseases, their gums grow great and swell, and they are fair to cut them away, their legs swell, and all the body becometh sore and so benumbed that they cannot stir hand or foot and so they die for weakness. Others fall into fluxes and agues, and die thereby. And this way it was our chance to make; yet,

though we had more than one hundred and fifty sick, there died not past twenty-seven, which loss they esteemed not much in respect of other times. .... The first signs of land were certain fowls, which they knew to be of India; the second, boughs of palms and sedges; the third, snakes swimming on the water, and a substance which they call by the name of a coin of money, as broad and as round as a groat, wonderfully painted and stamped by nature, like unto some coin ...... and so to Goa we came the 24th of October, there being received with passing great charity. The people be tawny, but not disfigured in their lips and noses, as the Moors and Kaffirs of Ethiopia. They that be not of reputation, or at least the most part go naked, saving an apron of a span long and as much in breadth before them, and a lace, two fingers broad, before them, girded about with a string, and no more. And thus they think themselves as well as we, with all our trimmings. Of the fruits and trees that be here, I cannot now speak, for I should make another letter as long as this. For hitherto I have not seen tree here whose like I have seen in Europe, the vine excepted, which, nevertheless, here is to no purpose, so that all the wines are brought out of Portugal. The drink of this country is good water, or wine of the palm tree, or a fruit called cocoas. And this shall suffice for this time."

21. Of Travelling in Malabar and of the Malabar Pirates

In the Second Volume, we shall speak at length of the work of the Carmelites in Malabar. Here we shall only quote some passages from the "*Viaggio*" of Fr. Vincenzo (1656–57) where he describes the method of travelling in those days and the dangers which the Missionaries had to encounter chiefly from the Malabar Pirates. We shall see elsewhere how many were put to death by these enemies of the Christian name, thus gaining a Martyr's Crown. The following will complete our description of the environment wherein the lot of the Missionaries in Malabar was cast.

Fr. Vincenzo tells us that after Cannanore, he and his companions had to travel through the dominions of the Nayars and the Zamorin. Fr. Vincenzo remarks that the *Giuncadas* made travelling quite safe, and he explains that

these *Giuncadas* were Gentiles, who, for a little money risked their lives and the lives of their relations for the safety of travellers, whom they accompanied most faithfully from one place to another. If anyone dares offend the travellers, the *Giuncadas* will fight for them even unto death. Should they be injured, all their relations will avenge the injury even to the loss of their own lives. The Captain of the Fort of Cannanore having chosen six *Giuncadas* of different castes, having provided the Carmelites with an excellent interpreter, and with men to carry the luggage arranged everything for a safe journey.

The Guardian of the Franciscans, having sung the Mass of the Holy Ghost with good music, and having offered them some sweets, the Carmelites left. In Ciarla they saw a great temple, provided with fine tanks, for the ablutions, one for Brahmins, and the other for the rest. Next day (30th of January), they passed Tarapatano (Dharmapatam), big, beautiful, rich in commerce.

On the 31st, they came near the land of the thieves or pirates, where they had some trouble in escaping. In the evening, having reached Bergari (Badagara), they stopped. The sea thieves came and proposed many difficulties against the Faith, and chiefly against the Blessed Trinity. Fr. Matthew, who was well acquainted with the Koran, asked them to bring their Casi. When he had come, the Father by means of their own Scriptures established the truth of the great mystery, so that they could not say a word. Here also the Captain's sons tried to rob them, but the *Giuncadas* protected the good Fathers.

In the *Prima Spedizione* of Fra Giuseppe Sebastiani, who later on became Bishop of Verapoly, we read that at Badagara, a poor Christian slave with very heavy chains to his feet came to the Fathers, asking for mercy; who, having thrown himself to their feet, exposed with tears the sufferings of his captivity and of that of a Portuguese with wife, children and servants, who had been taken by the Pirates. The Fathers desired to help them, but could not, for strict watch was kept on them (p. 86). As Fr. Vincenzo remarks, they succeeded, however to send them some alms in the stables where they were being kept.

Fearing the tricks of the Moors, the Fathers left the place by night, and, going further inland, they proceeded through fields and forests. Next day they reached Kunhale's river, the third and most infamous place of pirates and thieves.

In front of it there is a small island called Kunhale's stone, where usually the Moors, within a Mosque, offer a Christian in sacrifice to the devil—unless, of course, they have already slain him on the paro, in the sea. They heard that two Religious and three Portuguese were held captives there. The Carmelites, who had come to India without leave from the Portuguese, were afraid of entering Calicut, lest they should be stopped by the Factor. But finally they had to yield to the importunities of the same Factor, who having heard of their coming and contrary to all expectation insisted much on helping them.

Indeed he showed himself a true friend. He prepared for them a good supper, and, being the eve of the Purification, he and his whole family, made their Confession.

Next morning, accompanied by an interpreter and an escort given to them by the good Factor, they left Calicut.

In Calicut they heard that there were about 300 Christians, under the care of a Jesuit. Similarly in Tanur they found many Christians, with a commodious Church, served by a Paulista. Near the Church they were shown a fertile plain which, however, was called Cathinge, which means jungle. Tradition narrated that when St. Thomas reached this spot he dug a small ditch and blessed it.

So much water sprang up as to irrigate the whole Cathinge, which from that time became very fertile. From Tanur they passed on to Panani, a village of the Samorino and from Panani they went South.

The above gives a graphic idea of the dangers which attended travelling along the Western Coast in the sixteenth century. In the course of this history we shall frequently mention assaults and shipwrecks caused by the Malabar Pirates.

Fr. Vincenzo, describing the return journey from the South back to Europe, tells us that in Calicut the Rector of the Church was waiting for them. He led them to the Church, which was adorned with plantain and palm leaves, and with

many burning candles. They prayed a little there, and having related to him some of the events of the South they told him they could not stop with him, but went to the house of the good Portuguese Factor, who received them with extraordinary demonstrations of love. The poor man, for having helped them the year before, had been deprived of office by the Portuguese, but he got it back through the insistence of the Samorino, and of the Inquisition.

Fr. Vincent remarks that on their return journey they had occasion to see the whole of Calicut, which was far from being the magnificent city described by Remusio. This writer says that the temples are splendid and so are the public offices and the palaces of the Samorino—all made of stone, and not like the mud huts of the rest of India. Well, Fr. Vincent remarks that he saw only a vast multitude of huts hidden among the palm trees, some made of leaves, others of mud, very few with walls up to a height of three cubits, and then all of wood. In the same manner, only bigger, for its perimeter is more than a mile, is built the palace of the Samorino. Only the Portuguese Factory and the Church of the Christians are all made of stone walls .... Of the Samorin (Comodri) he says that he alone in Malabar had the right to mint money in former times, but now the Rajas of Cochin, Cannanore and Coulano, have usurped the same privilege .... They say that he has great treasures of gold and precious stones, nor is it incredible, for he spends little, and has many subjects, and a great commerce of spices. When he goes out he is covered with gems round the neck, on the ears, the hands, the arms, the loins, the legs, and the feet.

The Carmelites left Calicut on the 12th of January 1657, and had to walk along the seashore. The heat was great, the sand was burning and the glare such that their faces were swollen. Towards noon of the 14th they passed near Kunhale. While they were taking a little rest, the Moors came to invite them to see the slaves, among whom there were some Dominicans, who had been betrayed by the crew and taken prisoners at sea. Knowing that their visit would not have been of any help, but rather that the Moors would have tormented them even more had they visited them without paying their ransom, they did not see them.

In the fifth chapter of the III Book, Fr. Vincenzo speaks more at length of the Pirates in India, and after having described their frightful appearance, and their method of attack, speaks of their Christian prisoners.

Having loaded them with irons, they made them work in the fields, under the burning sun, and often beat them. When work was over they shut them up in stinking stables, where their bed was the naked earth, their drink, brackish water, and their food a scanty measure of rotten rice, with but a little salt. Several times in the week they were brought before their masters, who forced them to write to their acquaintances, in order to get the ransom money.

At the beginning any offer is insufficient; and should the poor wretches refuse to promise to pay exorbitant sums, their torments are increased. If they promise, and then cannot pay, they have to suffer till they die. Frequently they suspend them with the feet up and the head down, and they light some damp straw, so that the smoke nearly kills them. At other times they stretch them on the ground, and put scolopendras on the bare stomach, so that the navel being bitten by the reptile, it festers and for two or three days they suffer excruciating torments .... Now that the power of the Portuguese is declining, the seas are swarming with these terrible pirates. When they board a ship, the first man whom they take must turn Mahomedan, else they kill him straightaway or take him to Kunhale's stone where they offer him to the devil (pp. 228–30).

The stone at present is called in the vernacular *Velliyan Kallu*, or White Rock. It lies off Kottakkal (3 miles South of Badagara), about 8 miles to sea. Since the Kottakkal Kunhale Marakkars—famous pirates, whose exploits are the theme of many ballads—used to take their Portuguese victims to the White Rock, and slaughter them, the rock goes also by the name of "Rock of Sacrifice". It has been reddened with the blood of many martyrs.

Would it not be possible to build a little chapel there—or at least on the shore in front of it—and every year take the Christians on a pilgrimage to the sacred spot? Our people would derive inspiration and fervour; they would be strengthened in the faith; they would feel proud to be the descendants of the martyrs.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

[1] *Jacobus Canter Visscher* was Chaplain at Cochin from 1717 to 1723. He wrote his Letters or Memoirs to his friends in Holland, bearing on the manners and customs of the people of Malabar, their Laws, Rites and Ceremonies, the description of their kingdoms, as well as their origin and their modes of Government, and other similar subjects.

Mr. K. P. Padmanabha Menon (1857–1919) edited the Letters of Visscher and illustrated them with abundant notes.

[2] The Kings of Malabar pretend to be the offspring of the vassals of the last CHERUMAN PERUMAL who turned Mohammedan and went to Mecca in 825 A.D. according to tradition. Another tradition (recorded *e.g.*, in *Mackenzie Collection General*, Vol. I, p. 9 sq.) tells us that the last Chera King was taken alive to Kailasa by Sundaramurti. When this happened the King directed his minister to reign during his absence: "And therefore it is that from that time to the present, the descendants of RAM RAJAH OF MALEYALAM sit not in their palanquins in the usual way, but are carried with their legs hanging down, for they look for the return of their king and by this attitude they denote attention to the affairs of his state". To sit with one leg flung across the other is a prerogative of an Indian sovereign. (*Cf. The Livro da Seita*, p. 75, Note 2.)

On the tradition that Cheruman Perumal turned Mahommedan *cf.* Innes, *Malabar Gazetteer* (1915), pp. 40–3.

On the tradition that Cheruman Perumal was converted to Christianity we take the following from DIEGO DO COUTO's *Da Asia*, Tom. IV, p. 11; Dec. VII, Liv. X, p. 523: "Xarao Perimal was the most famous of all the Perumals, and the best among them, and so well affected to the Christians of St. Thomas who were living in Cranganore, that he was not doing anything without them, because at that time there were men very holy and of good life, as coming from the first plants of the holy Apostle. And he loved them so, that through them he was converted to our holy faith, in which he lived for some years. Having become old, the Christians persuaded him to go to the house of the Apostle at Meliapor, with the intention of dying there and of being buried there. And thinking of embarking for Meliapor, he informed of it all those kings (*de que fez chamamento?*), and said good-bye to them (*e lhe devantou a menagem*) which they would keep till his return, affirming that it would be soon. And with the consent of all he left in the City of Calicut a page, called Manuchem Herari, native of a village called Baluri, three leagues from Calicut, who was so brave, that when this Emperor sent him to conquer the City of Madalagao, the wall having been built on the three sides where Manuchem was not, when they tried to build it where

he was he said in Malayalam: *Manuchem adelu curabea,* which means "No wall is needed where there is Manuchem; he is enough".

In fine, this Emperor having left for Meliapor, he died there and this agrees with the Chaldaic Scriptures of the Christians of the Serra of Malabar, and the *olas* of Cranganore. On this account I doubt not that his body was one of those three which were found in the Holy Chapel of the Blessed Ap. San Thome, when Manoel de Faria, by command of the King D. John, discovered it. .... For since this Emperor went on pilgrimage to his house, and died there, it is probable that the Christians buried him there, because he was the Emperor of all Malabar. This happened in the year 347, or, according to the *olas* of Cochin, 588. More than thirty years after the Moors of Arabia coming on the Malabar Coast to get Oriental merchandise, and hearing of the disappearance of the Perimal, and how he had got on a ship and had gone on pilgrimage, they made them believe that he had gone there, and died there, and so they wrote in their books, and so foreigners have found in their Scriptures and for this they have affirmed that the Perimal had become a Moor. These Malabars do not take the time into account, for, when the Perimal disappeared, Mahomed was not yet born, for he was born in the year 593, according to the most common opinion. And he fled from the City of Zidem to Medina Denelbi in the year 633, in which he began to preach his sect, and from this time do the Arabs count their era, which they call Hegerat, which means flight, and he died in the year 656, when he was 63 years old. From this it is clear that the Perimal died before Mahomed was born, and so he could not go to Mecca, as the Arabs have spread among the Malabars."

[3] Calicut was founded after the foundation of Quilon, in order to attract people for commerce. Some mistake it for Collam which all admit to have been founded by Cheruman Perumal in 825. *(Cf. Paulinus,* India Orientalis Xana, p. 11, seq.)

Calicut, one of the great ports of the District of Malabar and in which merchants from all parts are found. The King of this place is an infidel who shaves his chin just as the Haidari Fakirs of Room do. The greatest part of the Mahommedan merchants of this place are so wealthy that one of them can purchase the whole freightage of such vessels as put in here, and fit out others like them (Ibn-Batute, 1324). Other accounts of the Chinese Mahommedan Ma-Huan (*cf. Kerala,* I, p. 229) and other navigators (*Ibid.,* p. 232, sq.).

A stone in Calicut with a Chinese inscription by the Commander of the Chinese fleet which left China in 1408. Where?.... (*Cf.* chiefly Ludovico di Varthema, in 1503-08.)

At the close of the fifteenth century a Genoese merchant, Hieronimo di Santo Stefano paid a visit to Calicut about which he said: "In this town there are several thousands of houses inhabited by Christians, and the district is called Upper India (North Malabar?....)".

For further information *cf.* Ludov. Rom. Patrizi—Viaggi lib 4. Historia Vita Ven. Gius. Di S. Maria—Rome 1719. lib. 2. Cadamosto-Navigaz. cap. 75. Vincenzo S. Catarina—Viaggio alle Indie—lib. 2 c. 9. Francisco Barreto—Relat. Miss. Malab.—Rome 1645.

[4] In the Book of Duarte Barbosa, completed about the year 1518 (Vol. II, p. 81) we read: "In the City of Cannanore the King Our Lord possesses a fortress and a trading factory in perfect peace, love and safety, and around the fort is a town of Christians of this country, married men with their wives and children, who were converted to our Holy Faith after it was built, and continue daily to be converted".

Baldaeus (1672) writes about Cannanore: "Cannanore is a populous city inhabited chiefly by rich Mahometan merchants, who live without, yet under the cannon of the fortification" (p. 622).

CHAPTER I

CHRISTIANITY IN MALABAR AND IN SOUTH KANARA BEFORE THE ADVENT OF THE PORTUGUESE

THE SYRIAN CHRISTIANS

(52–1498)

1. The Pantaenus Tradition as to Their Origin

Since a great part of the work of the Jesuits in Malabar was carried on among the Syrian, or Thomas Christians, we must needs make them known to our readers. Though they formed a most flourishing community in Malabar, yet they never developed the missionary spirit, and never spread to an appreciable extent north of the river Ponani. Hieronimo da Santo Stefano, a Genoese merchant of the fifteenth century, says that "in the town of Calicut there were several thousand houses inhabited by Christians"; but they left no trace of themselves there. The Syrian Christians were planted in Malabar from the earliest times, and ever remained there.

Obviously this is not a book written to decide whether the Syrian Christians owe their origin to the Apostle St. Thomas. The tradition, which is certainly most ancient, is mentioned only to make subsequent events more clear and intelligible.

It is regrettable that our knowledge of the Thomas Christians in pre-Portuguese times is very scanty, and mostly derived from non-Indian sources. The Malabar Christians, though nearly submerged in a sea of idolatry, faithfully adhered to St. Thomas, but left no written records of their religious history. No philosophical or theological schools of thought among them, and no religious art of any importance. They were too few, and too far removed from the centre of Catholic thought. All the more honour to them, that they continued loyal to Christ, though they were so heavily handicapped.

The Christians of St. Thomas are at present divided as follows:—

THE CATHOLICS, who, being all under the obedience of the Pope, part follow the Latin, and part the Syrian rite. The Syrians are further subdivided into Nordists and Sudists.

THE JACOBITE SYRIANS, who are partly under the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch and partly independent. The latter are called Reformed Syrians or Protestants.

There are two traditions regarding the origin of Christianity in Malabar. The first—which is, however, the less important and widespread of the two—is based on the authority of *EUSEBIUS, CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA and St. JEROME,* who speak of PANTÆNUS of Alexandria's Mission to India, towards the end of the second century. There "He found his own arrival anticipated by some, who were acquainted with the Gospel of Matthew to whom *BARTHOLOMEW,* one of the Apostles, had preached and had left the Gospel of Matthew in the Hebrew, which was also preserved until this time" (*Eusebius*).

In ancient times the word INDIA had not the precise meaning it has now. Consequently, Pantænus' Mission to INDIA need not have been to our own India. (1)

2. The Apostle Thomas Tradition

The second tradition, which assigns the first preaching of the Gospel in Malabar to the Apostle St. Thomas is most ancient and strong.

It holds that St. Thomas the Apostle came to Cranganore in the year 52, built Churches at Neranam, Quilon, Chayil, Chockmangalam, Maliancere, Kottakowe and Palur. He then suffered martyrdom at St. Thomas' Mount near Madras. We shall not give a full discussion of this matter; but the following paragraphs will show that the tradition of the Malabar Christians is so ancient and continuous as to deserve a reasonable share of probability. (2)

In fact, at the beginning of the Christian Era commercial relation between Malabar and the West were frequent. (3)

Hence, it was not so difficult for a Missionary to join one of the numerous caravans, and bring to India the pearl of inestimable price.

Further, in 1848, and the following years, in Afghanistan and in the Punjab were discovered many ancient coins bearing the name of Gondophares. It seems probable that Gondophares reigned between the years 21–61 of the Christian Era. On the other hand, "*THE ACTS OF SAINT THOMAS*" mention a visit of the Apostle to a King of the same name. Does not this make it possible that St. Thomas preached at least in the north of India? (4)

In the *Doctrine of the Apostles,* a work of the second century, St. Thomas is called "the guide and Governor of the Church, which he found and ruled in India". Similarly the Roman and other Martyrologies mention the preaching of the Apostle to the Indies.

Two feasts of St. Thomas were celebrated both in the East and in the West: The "*Dies Natalis*" on the 21st of December; and the "*Dies Translationis*" on the 3rd of July, commemorating the translation of the body from Mylapore to Edessa.

The translation of the relics from India to Edessa in Syria is sung in various hymns by St. Ephrem, who lived in Edessa from A.D. 363 to 373. (5)

3. Further Indications of the Antiquity of Christianity in India

(From the Fourth to the Tenth Century)

Bishop John (325).—At the Council of Nicaea (325 A.D.) a certain John, Bishop of Persia and "*Great India*", signed the decrees.

This, of course, says nothing about the preaching of the Apostle in India, but is an indication of the antiquity of Christianity in this land, if "*Great India*" is equivalent to our India.

Thomas of Cana (345).—In the year 345, a merchant named Thomas, the Cananean, brought to Cranganore 400 Christians from Baghdad, Nineveh, and Jerusalem. He desired them to live with the Christians of Malabar, whom he had known during his commercial tours. The Ruler of Cranganore, Cheruman Perumal, conferred privileges upon Thomas and his people. Among these people there were a Bishop Joseph from Edessa and several Priests and Deacons. (6)

COSMAS INDICOPLEUSTES (535).—The sixth century Alexandrian traveller Cosmas Indicopleustes visited India. In the *Topographia Christiana* he writes:—"We have found the Church not destroyed but very widely diffused and the whole world filled with the doctrine of Christ, which is being day by day propagated and the Gospel preached over the whole world. This, as I have seen with my own eyes in many places and have heard narrated by others, I, as a witness of the truth, relate. In the island of Taprobane (Ceylon), in the interior of India where the Indian Ocean is, there exists a Christian Church where Clergy and faithful are to be found. So also in the Male (Malabar) as it is called, where the pepper grows. But at Kalliana (Quilon? Kallianapur, north of Mangalore?......Kalyan,......near Bombay?) so named there is a Bishop, generally ordained in Persia. Likewise in the Island of Diascoris (Sokotra), situated in the same Indian Sea, where the inhabitants speak Greek and are settlers deported there by the Ptolemies, successors of Alexander the Macedonian, you find priests ordained in Persia sent there; there are also a number of Christians." (7)

BISHOPS.—The Indian Christians usually obtained their Bishops from Persia and Mesopotamia. It is, however, impossible to give a complete list of these Bishops.(8)

From 325 A.D. to 1503 we have been able to count only ten, some loosely connected with India, some who did actually live in Malabar. This, obviously, does not mean that these Bishops were only ten in 1200 years. There were, however, long breaks in the Episcopal Succession, as appears for instance, from the letter of the Patriarch Isho-Yahb III (650–660). (8*a*)

But the succession seems to have been restored before the year 779. (8*b* and 8*c*)

CHURCHES AND CROSSES.—It is a pity that, owing to the climate (heavy rains during the monsoon and intense heat during the rest of the year) and to the nature of the building materials used in Malabar, the Thomas tradition is not supported by structural monuments of any importance. Gouvea (*Jornada*, fol. 60. v. col. 1) thus speaks of the ancient Churches of the Thomas Christians:

"And all the ancient Churches were made in the manner of Pagodas of the Gentios, but full, all of them, of Crosses after the manner of the Cross of the Miracle of Saint Thomas, which they call Saint Thomas' Cross; whence is seen how much more ancient is the veneration of this Cross, and affection for it, and manner thereof, than the time when the Portuguese found it; for the ancient Churches of these Christians, built many years before the arrival of Portuguese in India, were all of them adorned with these, both in painting and in sculpture." Of pre-Portuguese Churches none remains now, nor do we know anything of the antiquity of the Churches to which Gouvea is referring to.

So far, four Crosses, each sculptured under a Pahlavi inscribed arch on the same slab of granite, have been discovered in Malabar, all of them being in Travancore itself. They are in the following localities:—

(*a*) In the Southist Jacobite Church at Kottayam, called Valiapalli.[1]—2 Crosses.

(*b*) In the Northist Roman Catholic Church at Mattuchira.—1 Cross.

(*c*) In the Northist Jacobite Church at Kadamattam.—1 Cross.

Besides these four Pahlavi inscribed arched Crosses, there are the following in Travancore, which are undoubtedly imitations of some Pahlavi inscribed arched Cross or Crosses:—

(*a*) At the Valiapalli Church at Kaduthuruthi, a Latin Cross under a semicircular Roman arch carved with a Vatteluttu epitaph of A.D. 1614.

(*b*) In the same Church; a Latin Cross under a semicircular Roman arch bearing an epitaph. A.D. 1615.

(*c*) At the Muttuchira Church a miniature Cross almost like the Mount Cross. This is sculptured on the western side of the pedestal of the open-air Cross which (Cross) was set up in A.D. 1623.[2]

There is in the Church of St. Thomas Mount in Mylapore, about eight miles south-west of Fort St. George, Madras, an old Pahlavi inscribed Cross which was discovered under-

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1 Valiyapalli means the great or principal Church.

2 *Cf. Malabar Christians and Their Ancient Documents*, by T. K. Joseph, 1929.

ground by the Portuguese in 1547, while digging among the ruins of an ancient Chapel. Unlike the Pahlavi inscribed Travancore Crosses, this Mount Cross can unhesitatingly be regarded as pre-Portuguese in origin from the circumstantial evidence of its discovery, and the palæography of the inscription. This Mount Cross is an original, the inscription around it being almost perfect in its orthography. It must have been written by a Pahlavi-knowing Persian. The orthography of the inscription around the larger Kottayam Cross and the Kadamattam Cross is faulty, the latter being the worst of the four Travancore Pahlavi inscriptions. The inscription around the smaller Kottayam Cross and the surviving portion of that around the Muttuchira Cross, are not so defective as the above two.

Attempts to translate the inscription on the stone at the Mount near Madras and that on the older stone at Kottayam have been made by several scholars. Here are three widely different results: "In punishment by the Cross was the suffering of this one, who is the true Christ, God above and Guide ever pure" (*Dr. Burnnell*). "What freed the true Messiah, the forgiving, the upbraiding from hardships. The Crucifixion from the tree and the anguish of this" (*Dr. E. W. West*). "He that believes in the Messiah and in God in the height and also in the Holy Ghost is in the grace of Him who suffered the pain of the Cross" (*Dr. Haug of Munich*). The other stone at Kottayam is said to be of a later date (tenth century). Above the Cross it is written "The Messiah and God in the height as the Holy Ghost". Below the Cross is a Syriac version of Gal. VI. 14. "Let me not glory except in the Cross of O.L. Christ."[3]

We have given this short account of the Crosses in India as pointing to the antiquity of Christianity in this land, though really nothing certain is known as to the period to which they may be ascribed.

The Mount Cross is surely pre-Portuguese. As to the others, nothing can be said at present. (9)

THE COPPER-PLATES.—Though the Malayees are so intelligent and enterprising, it is regrettable as well as surprising that the Malabar Christians should have left no traces of

[3] *Cf.* Mackenzie's *Christianity in Travancore*, pp. 6, 7.

theological or philosophical schools of thought. Thus the Thomas tradition is not supported by ancient indigenous Christian literature worth mentioning. The Syrian Manuscripts in the Vatican Library are of later times, the most ancient not being older than 1501. (10). Then there are the copper-plate grants, which belong to the eighth and ninth centuries. (11)

ST. GREGORY OF TOURS (590).—Though not directly connected with Malabar, yet, since it supplies another link in the Thomas tradition, we give here the testimony of Theodore, as related by St. Gregory of Tours. He says: "The Apostle Thomas, according to what is related of his martyrdom, suffered in India. His body, after a long interval of time, was translated to Edessa in Syria and buried there. In that part of India where he was first buried, there is a monastery and a Church well adorned, of fine dimensions and beautiful design. These things Theodore, who visited the place, told us". The visit took place probably in the year 590.

SULEIMAN (841).—The Mahomedan merchant Suleiman in his *Salsalat-al-Travarik, viz.,* Chain of Chronicles of the year 841, gives a description of India and China. Speaking of Malabar, he mentions Kulam-Male (Quilon), a port frequented by Arabs, Chinese and Egyptian merchants from Alexandria. From Kulam-Male, in ten days, the ship reaches Betumah. The Frenchman Renaudot was the first to identify Betumah with Beit-Tumah, or "House of Thomas", an expression designating the tomb of St. Thomas at Mylapore.

KING ALFRED (883).—According to the *Saxon Chronicle,* King Alfred the Great in 883 sent to India alms for St. Thomas and St. Bartholomew. (12)

We have gathered all these fragments from various sources; but we confess that many points still remain obscure. We may say, however,

1. that Christianity certainly existed in Malabar in the fourth century A.D. We feel less confident to affirm or to deny its Apostolic Origin—though the persistent tradition in Malabar that the Christians there were derived from St. Thomas, makes us lean towards the affirmative.

2. Whether St. Thomas landed in Malabar or on the Coromandel Coast, we have no sufficient data to decide.

3. There is some confusion about Thomas of Cana. It seems most probable that he came to India in 345 A.D., though the dates 774 and 822 are not to be absolutely excluded.

We wonder whether further research may not throw more light on the point.

4. It is not clear where the Malabar Bishops came from. Cosmas Indicopleustes mentions Persia, and the copper-plates of Quilon (ninth century), which contain nine Persian names, seem to favour Persian origin.

5. Joseph of Edessa (A.D. 345) was sent to India by the Catholicos of the East. Who was this Catholicos? Not the Patriarch of Seleucia, who was acknowledged head of all the Bishops only in 410 A.D. and assumed the title of "*CATHOLICOS*" under Dadisho (421–456 A.D.). From this time Seleucia favoured Nestorianism.

6. Did perhaps the Indian Bishops depend first on the Patriarch of Riwardashir in Persia? So it seems, for Iisho-Yahb, Patriarch of Seleucia, complains to Simeon of Riwardashir, that, through his disobedience, the Indian Episcopal Succession was interrupted.

7. For how long was it broken? Perhaps for 50 years. Saliba-Zekha, Seleucian Patriarch (714–728), raised the Indian Church to the state of Metropolitan Church. The head of the Indian Episcopate was called "the Gate of all India". How many Bishops had he under his jurisdiction? .... We cannot say.

8. Later on (1043), it seems India comes under the Patriarch of Antioch. Some Antiochians were Monophysites, some Catholic. Which side did India adhere to? Probably the Catholic side, for it seems that Mar John (1122 A.D.) from Mylapore went to Constantinople, and from there to Rome, where he obtained the Pallium from Pope Callixtus II.

But let us continue to piece together some more historical fragments on the Church in India before the advent of the Portuguese.

4. From the Eleventh to the Sixteenth Century

Marco Polo (1292).—Marco Polo, the famous Venetian traveller, visited India in the year 1292. He says: "The Body of Messer Thomas the Apostle lies in the Province of Malabar,

in a small town, inhabited by few people. Few merchants go there, for there is not much to buy and sell, and the place itself is not very accessible. Yet the town is much frequented by pilgrims, both Christian and Saracen. The Christians take some earth from the place where the Saint was killed. The Christians who have the administration of the Church possess forests of trees that bear the Indian nuts and from them they draw the means of their livelihood. As tax, they pay monthly to one of the Royal brothers a groat for each tree".(13)

John of Montecorvino (1305).—John of Montecorvino, writing from Pekin in 1305, says:—"I remained in the country of India, where stands the Church of St. Thomas the Apostle, for thirteen months and in that reign baptised in different places about one hundred persons".

In 1306 he writes again:—"There are (in Malabar) very few Christians and Jews and they are of little weight. The people persecute much the Christians and all who bear the Christian name". Strange that he should speak of religious persecution in Malabar, where the Christians were in general unobtrusive and unproselytising.(14)

Friar Jordan (1302–1321).—In 1302 some French Dominicans, under Friar Jordan of Toulouse, came to India. Some of them were killed by the Mahomedans at Thana, near Bombay. Friar Jordan returned to Europe, and in his *Mirabilia* thus speaks of the Syrian Christians:—"In this India there is a scattered people, one here another there, who call themselves Christians but are not so, nor have they baptism nor do they know anything about the faith. Nay! They believe St. Thomas the Great to be Christ! There, in India I speak of, I baptized and brought into the faith about 10,000 souls".(15)

Bl. Oderic of Pordenone (1321).—The Franciscan Blessed Oderic of Pordenone came to India in 1321. He collected the relics of the Thana Martyrs and passed down to Malabar, "where the pepper grows. In the forest in which the pepper grows, there are two cities, one called Flandrina, and the other Cingilin. In the city of Flandrina, some of the inhabitants are Jews and some are Christians; and between these two cities there is always internal strife, but the result is always

that the Christians beat and overcome the Jews". He then proceeds to speak of Mylapore: "From this realm of Minibar it is a journey of ten days to another realm......where is laid the body of the Blessed Thomas the Apostle. His Church is filled with idols and besides it are some fifteen houses of Nestorians, that is to say Christians, but vile and pestilent heretics."

Now this man was acquainted with the Nestorian errors, for he met the same in China; though he says nothing of the Christians of "Minibar", had they been Catholics, he would certainly have mentioned the fact, just as he mentions with astonishment the three beautiful Churches he saw in China.

J. DE MARIGNOLLI (1348).—John de Marignolli came to India on his return journey from China. He writes:—"On Palm Sunday, 1348, we arrived at a very noble city of India called Quilon, where the whole world pepper is produced......And there is no roasting of pepper as authors have falsely asserted, nor does it grow in forests but in regular gardens, nor are the Saracens the proprietors, but the Christians of St. Thomas. And these latter are the masters of the public weighing office from which I derived, as a perquisite of my office as Pope's Legate, every month a hundred gold fanams and a thousand when I left....

There is a Church of St. George there, of the Latin Communion, at which I dwelt, and I adorned it with fine paintings and taught there the Holy Law. And after I had been there some time I went beyond the glory of Alexander the Great, when he set up his column. For I erected a stone as my landmark and memorial and anointed it with oil. In sooth, it was a marble pillar with a stone Cross on it, intended to last till the world's end. And it had the Pope's arms and my own engraved on it, with inscriptions both in Indian and in Latin characters. I consecrated and blessed it in the presence of an infinite multitude of people and I was carried on the shoulders of the chiefs in a litter or palanquin like Solomon's. So after a year and four months I took leave of the brethren".

The present-day Syrian Catholics use this remarkable document to prove that they have never adhered to heresy, but that they have always been attached to the See of Rome.

Marignolli's pillar was seen by the Dutch Baldaeus in 1662. It was later on washed away by the sea.

The name by which Marignolli designated Malabar is Mynibar or Maabar. Quilon he called Columbum. He continues:—"The third province is called Maabar and the Church of St. Thomas, which he built with his own hands, is there, besides another which was rebuilt by the agency of workmen." (*Cf.* YULE, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, p. 374.) In Yule and Burnell's *Hobson-Jobson*, we find that Ma'bar was the name given in the Middle Ages to that Coast of India which we call Coromandel.

Marignolli refers to the Church of St. Thomas as being situated in Mirapoles, and to the Priests who gathered up the earth with which his blood was mingled and buried it with him (*Ibid.*, p. 375).

CATALAN MAP (1375).—In the so-called Catalan Map of A.D. 1375 we find Mount Delly, South of Mangalore, marked as a Christian city. South and at the foot of Mount Delly Duarte Barbosa notices Jews. The Jews of Malabar were usually found together with Christians for trading purposes. So Barbosa lends authority to the Catalan Map.[4]

POPE'S EMBASSY (1439).—In 1439 Pope Eugene IV sent envoys to India with a letter:—"To my most beloved son in Christ, Thomas the illustrious Emperor of the Indians, Health and Apostolic Benediction: There often has reached us a constant rumour that your serenity and also all who are the subjects of your kingdom are true Christians". Asseman (IV, 442) says that the name of the first King of the Christians in Malabar was Baliartes. But Fr. Franc. De Souza in his *Oriente Conquistado* (II, 69), says that Baliartes was not a Christian, but that the Christians paid him tribute because he had helped them against the Mohammedans. At any rate the fact is that the Christians preserved the sceptre of their king, a red rod tipped with silver and having three small bells. The Papal envoys did not reach India.

GERONIMO DI S. STEFANO.—At the close of the fifteenth

[4] *Cf.* Fr. Hosten's MSS. Notes on "Christian Antiquities in India"; Yule's *Cathay*, Hackluyt Soc., 1916, Vol. IV, p. 74; Dames, *The Book of Duarte Barboza*, II, 80–1 and Fr. Caironi's MSS. Notes.

century a Genoese merchant Geronimo di Santo Stefano paid a visit to Calicut about which he says:—"In this town there are thousands of houses inhabited by Christians, and the district is called Upper India" (North Malabar?).[5]

JOSEPH INDUS (1490–1507).—Though the documents we shall quote now are post-Portuguese, they refer to pre-Portuguese times. The first refers to Joseph, the Indian, a Malabar Christian, who in 1490 went from Malabar to the Catholicos of the East Syrians in Gazarta-Bet-Zabdai in Mesopotamia, to ask for Bishops for the Indian Church and was himself ordained priest by the Catholicos, "being fairly well instructed". Having returned to Malabar with two Bishops and hearing of the arrival of Christians from the Occident in Cochin, he went there from Cranganore in 1501 and sailed with them to Portugal to see the Pope in Rome and the Holy Places in Palestine. From Lisbon he went with a companion to Rome and Venice, from where he returned to Portugal and to India, where we find him still as parish-priest of his native place, Cranganore, in 1518. What Joseph told in Rome and especially in Venice, where he stayed for many days, was collected and published in 1507 by Fracan-Montalboddo in an extremely rare book *Paesi Nuovamente Retrovati et novo Mondo da Alberico, con la Impensa de Magistro Henrico Vicentino e Diligenti Cure e Industria de Zanmaria Suo Fiol nel MCCCCCVII, a/di. III. de Novembre.* The book, of which an unreliable Latin translation with essential changes, additions and omissions was published by Simon Grynaeus in his *Novus Orbis* (Basileae, 1532), gives the relation of Alouise de Ca da Mosto about his voyage to West Africa in 1463, a relation of the voyage of Vasco da Gama to India (1497) and the Indian countries, of the voyage of Cabral in 1500, of those of Columbus and Vespucci, and finally, in the sixth book, some contemporary letters from Lisbon about Cabral's voyage, to which the editor adds chapters 249–92 about Joseph, the Indian, according to the relations of those who conversed with him during his stay in Venice. Following the edition of 1507, written in Venetian Italian, we give in the notes the passages illustrating the attitude of

[5] *Cf.* R. H. Major, *India in the XV Century*, London, 1857, p. 5; and Mingana, *Early Spread of Christianity in India*, p. 56.

Joseph and his Christian brethren in Malabar towards the successor of Saint Peter, the Pope of Rome. The quotations are from Fr. Schurhammer's *The Malabar Church and Rome.* (16)

EBEDJESUS (1563).—G. T. Mackenzie in his *Christianity in Travancore,* p. 17, writes:—"At this time (towards the year 1550) there was a movement among the Nestorians in Mesopotamia to seek reconciliation with Rome, and in 1551 on the death of the Patriarch Simeon, a large number of the Nestorians chose as their Patriarch a monk named John Sulacca who went to Rome and was recognised by Pope Julius III as Patriarch of the Chaldeans. Returning to his own country he was put to death by the Mohammedans in 1554 and was succeeded by Ebedjesus. This Patriarch Ebedjesus made his profession of faith before Pope Pius IV and took part in the Council of Trent". The same Mackenzie in his article on *The History of Christianity in Travancore* (Travancore State Manual, 1906) says: "In this profession of faith he enumerates the dioceses of his Patriarcate, including in India, Cochin, a metropolis; Cannanore, a metropolis; Calicut, a Bishopric, to which is subordinate the City of Cranganore which is still possessed by idolaters and wicked men. This appears to be an inaccurate enumeration of the Sees in this coast (of Malabar and Koncan) although in so formal a document". The Portuguese Ambassador, who knew the rights and privileges of Goa, protested, and his protest is recorded in the Acts of the Council. But apparently Ebedjesus did not mind the protest, for he believed that the privileges granted to Goa did not destroy the ancient claims of his See.

With regard to this matter we remark that there are no traces of a Syrian Bishopric in Calicut or Cannanore in post-Portuguese times. Does then Ebedjesus refer to pre-Portuguese times? Or is he mistaken? Together with G. T. Mackenzie we incline to the latter view.

MANGALORE CROSS (1493).—An indication that there were Christians even North of the Ponani, and precisely in Mangalore, before the Portuguese, we find in the following episode which we take from Fr. Hosten's MSS. "*Notes on Christian Antiquities in India*": "About the year 1493 some fishermen cast their nets into the sea. When, next day they tried to pull them

out, they did not find a single fish in them, but they found a Cross. At that time they did not value their capture at its proper price; but seeing the sea suddenly sparkle at the very place where they had fished up the Cross, and knowing it was a shoal of fish, they cast their nets again with the good result that they filled their *almadias* with all kinds of fishes. And suspecting some mystery in the Cross, they took it to the Kinglet of Banguel, the Lord of the country, who received it with much respect and placed it among the other rich jewels of his treasury. The Cross was a beautiful carved piece of olive wood, one palm and a half in length and full of relics from the Holy Land. Later in the year 1661, Miguel de Almeida, a citizen of Goa, went to Banguel, and as he made friends with the Kinglet, the latter showed him his treasury, as these Kings of Asia are wont to do in token of great benevolence; among his other jewels he showed him the Holy Cross, an inheritance of his ancestors, and told him the above story. The Portuguese, as a Catholic, adored the instrument of our Redemption, and asked the Kinglet pressingly for it, who finally gave it him in exchange for other pieces. Almeida returned to Goa, rejoicing and triumphant at having redeemed it from the hands of an Asiatic King. This case proves that, before the advent of the Portuguese some Armenian had navigated these seas: for the olive wood, of which the Cross was made, is not native to India".

THOME LOPEZ (1502).—Fr. Hosten again remarks that "Mangalore is mentioned by Thome Lopez as the home of certain Christians who sent a deputation to Vasco de Gama on his second voyage, towards the end of 1502".(17)

Conclusion.—Now to sum up. South of the River Ponani there have been Christians from very ancient times. There is some probability of a Bishop having resided at Kallianpur even before the sixth century. Minicoy seems to have been under Christian influence. If the City of Flandrina really corresponds to Pantalayini, there were Christians near Calicut in the fourteenth century. That seems to be confirmed by the Catalan Map, by the testimony of Joseph Indus and by the testimony of Geronimo di Santo Stefano. The presence of Christians in Mangalore in pre-Portuguese times is made probable by the invention of a cross there and the testimony of Thome Lopez.

Considering the scanty documents at our disposal, it is not possible to decide whether the ancient Indian Christians were heretical or not. The fact that their Bishops were hailing from Nestorian countries, and the testimony of Fra Odorico da Pordenone incline us to the opinion that they were not quite orthodox. However we do not think they were "formal" heretics.

Before the coming of the Portuguese the people were in extreme ignorance; they knew only one thing in matters of religion; that the religion professed by their priests was on the whole the religion which St. Thomas had preached to their ancestors. The few prayers they knew (even the O. Father and the Hail Mary) were in Syriac, which they did not understand (Bishop Roz was the first to translate the O. Father and the H. Mary into Malayalam). Hence they blindly followed the customs and the doctrines taught them by the clergy, together with many superstitions that came from the pagan people among whom they lived.

It is, however, remarkable that they should have adhered to what they knew of Christianity for so many centuries, in spite of their distance from Christian lands, in spite of their small numbers, and of the pagan atmosphere which surrounded them on every side. They believed in Christ the Redeemer, in the efficacy of Baptism, in the Holy Eucharist; and, in spite of errors and superstitions, they form a bright spot amidst the encircling gloom.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

1 *Pantaenus and His Supposed Journey to India* (*cf.* Bernard, Vol. I, p. 9; Job, *Xianity in Malabar*, p. 13).

The quotations from St. Jerome, Eusebius, Rufinus, do not imply that Pantaenus came to our India. Most likely he went to Arabia where he found the Gospel of St. Matthew which could have been brought there by Judaeo-Xians at the dispersion of their race after the fall of Jerusalem. So at least reason La Croze and Harnack (*Mission and Expansion of Xianity*, Vol. II, p. 152; Eng. ed.) where he says, that the Thomas-Xians of India cannot be shown to go back to the third century (Kidd, III, p. 427).

TEXT OF EUSEBIUS

Per idem tempus fidelium scholae praeerat vir doctrinæ causa celeberrimus Pantaenus ...... Tantum anim ardorem erga verbum Dei idem vir ostendisse perhibetur ut Orientis nationibus

Evangelii Christi predicator extiterit, et ad ipsam usque Indiam progressus ...... Pantaenus ad Indos usque penetrasse dicitur, ibique Evangelium Matthaei quod adventum ipsius jam praevenerat, apud quosdam Christi notititia imbutos reperisse.

TEXT OF ST. JEROME. DE VIRIS ILLUS. No. 36

Pantaenus ...... juxta quamdam veterem consuetudinem in Alexandria, ubi a Marco Evangelista semper Ecclesiastici fuere Doctores, tantae prudentiae et eruditionis tam in scripturis divinis quam in saeculari literatura fuit ut in Indian quoque rogatus ab illius gentis legatis a Demetrio Alexandriae episcopo mitteretur. Ubi reperit Bartholomaeum de duodecim apostolis, adventum D.N.J.C. juxta Matthaei Evangelium praedicasse, quod hebraicis literis scriptum, revertens Alexandriam secum tulit.

ANOTHER TEXT OF ST. JEROME

Pantaenus stoicae sectae philosophus ob praecipuae eruditionis gloriam a Demetrio Alex. episcopo missus est in Indiam ut Xum apud Brachmanas praedicaret. *Epistola LXX Scripta circa an.* 397. (ex Palaestina?) (Migne, P.L., Vol. 22, Col. 667).

Cf. also text of Clement of Alexandria (160–220) who, speaking about Pantaenus, mentions also Yogis and Buddhists (quotations apud HOUGH, *Hist. of Christianity in Ind.*, I, p. 217). *Re* the text of Jerome on the Brahmans, see Medlycott, *St. Thomas*, p. 180.

N.B.—Clement of Alexandria, in his *Stromata* (P.G. VIII. Nr. grassetto 151), does speak of India, of Butta adored as God and of Brakmanas, but not in connection with Pantaenus, but as a review of the various religions of the world. These notions he derived from Greek sources which were found in the Alexandrian Library.

From the mention of the Gospel of Bartholomew and Matthew in the above text, in connection with the supposed arrival in India of Pantaenus, it becomes clear that the India referred to is Arabia Felix. So thought Assemani, Tillemont, Medlycott. It is common among the early Western writers to call Arabia Felix and the country of the Yamanites and Abyssinians, India. It will be a matter of surprise if any responsible author will ever mention in the future Pantaenus in connection with India proper (MINGANA, *Early Spread of Christianity in India*, p. 17).

[2] Dr. Farquhar says: "Thirty years ago, the balance of probability stood absolutely against the story of the Apostolate of St. Thomas in India. We suggest to-day that the balance of probability is distinctly on the side of its historicity."

—*Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, 1927.

[3] The relations are well documented in V. Nagar Ayya's *Travancore State Manual*, Trivandrum, 1906 (Vol. I, pp. 241–44, 268–73, and 280–81).

[4] In this connection, *cf. India and the Apostle Thomas; An Inquiry with a Critical Analysis of the Acta Thomas*, by A. E.

Medlycott, Bishop of Trincomia (London, DAVID NUTT, 1905) and Articles reviewing the same in the Bombay *Examiner*.

Prof. P. J. Thomas, however, in an article, "*The South India Tradition of the Ap. Thomas*", which appeared in the Centenary *Supplement to the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (London, October 1924, pp. 213–23), has the following: "The finding of the Gondophares coins, in the Cabul region raised great hopes of a final settlement of the problem, but apart from the (itself doubtful) identification of a single name in the Acta Thomas, it has shed no light on the mysteries of Christian origins in India" (p. 213).

Prof. Thomas lays greater emphasis on the Thomas tradition, as handed down from ancient times in songs and ballads in Malabar. The most authoritative of these is *Thoma Parvam*, composed in 1601 by Malieke Thoma Ramban forty-eighth in descent from the Thoma who received Baptism from the Apostle's own hands.

The *Keralolpatti*—a Brahmin work written to support the social and religious claims of the Nambudiri Brahmins—says, "that a certain foreigner, Thoman, who is spoken of as a *Sarva-Veda-Vigrahan* (opponent of all Vedas), came to Malabar and converted to his Buddha faith many prominent people of the land, including the reigning Cheraman King, Bara Perumal" (218).

If Bana may be identified with the King Bana Varaman mentioned in early Tamil works, we might place him between the years A.D. 50 and 80 (according to the late Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai's calculation based on Gajabahu Synchronism) (219–20).

In Malabar, there are still two families, the *Sankoorikel*, and the *Pakolomattam* (*Palomattam*),—which claim to have been given some ecclesiastical dignity by St. Thomas himself; other families claim that, as a special blessing from the Apostle, there have been priests among their members from Apostolic times. These priests call themselves the sixtieth, the sixty-sixth, etc., according to their order of succession from St. Thomas. Considering how tenacious are the Malayalees of ancient customs, these traditions should not be lightly dismissed.

[5] The translation of the Hymns is given in *La Missione di Mangalore*, Vol. I, p. 412. Kodyalbail Press, Mangalore, 1903.

A difficulty may be noted here. If St. Ephrem and Gregory of Tours speak of the translation of the relics to Edessa, how can their statement be reconciled with the alleged finding of the same by the Portuguese in 1523? For, according to a document which is preserved in the Archives of the Society of Jesus among the Goa Manuscripts, and which has been published in pamphlet form by the Rev. N. Figueredo of San Thome de Meliapor in 1934, Diogo Fernandez, a virtuous old man, of good conduct, and a Portuguese, on the 10th of June 1543, stated under oath on the Holy Gospel that in the year 1523, in the month of July, were found some bones of the skull, then those of the spine and of the whole body.

These bones were found at a depth of 15′ 2″, after a good layer of sand, and a slab of concrete, and some more sand, and another slab of concrete, and sand again and a third slab of concrete, and a tomb-stone and finally some more sand, had been removed. This excavation was done at the place known as the tomb of St. Thomas. The tomb had been pointed out in 1517 to the aforementioned Diogo Fernandez, to Bastiao Fernandez, to Coge-Escandel, an Armenian and to several other Armenians, by a Moor, who had been entrusted with the duty of lighting the House of the Apostle. The tomb was on the Gospel side, on the outside of the Church. The Church—which was then in ruins—was 17 cubits long and 11 broad.

Fr. Antonio Gil placed the bones in a small casket, and later on in a China-casket with two locks. Two years later, Fr. Penteado buried the bones in a place unknown to all except to one Rodrigo Luis. In the same year, according to the indications of this Luis, the bones were dug up from under the altar, placed within two caskets, put in the Chapel and the keys were given to the Vicar, Fr. Frco Nicolao. "And the bones were in that place until this day, which is the 15th of October, when the said Diogo Fernandez was heard as witness by order of the King". The same Fr. Figueredo explains the apparent contradiction by saying that only part of the sacred remains were taken to Edessa. This explanation is plausible, and seems confirmed by St. Ephrem himself in his Carmen VIII.

The Relics, now in Mylapore, are part of a rib and the point of a lance. Frey Andre de Santa Maria, Bishop of Cochin, gave a relic to the Church of St. Thomas in Goa. A fragment of the spearhead was in the Bassein Fort.

From Edessa, the Relics were taken to Chios, and from Chios to Ortona a Mare in Italy (*cf.* M. D'Sa, *History of the Cath. Church in India,* pp. 2, 3).

6 The date given above of the arrival of Thomas is not accepted by all. Other dates are given by others. One may reasonably ask whether there was only one Thomas or more. Did another Thomas come to India in 774? And a third one in 822? The matter is not clear.

As to the privileges conferred on Thomas, we take the following from Gouvea's *Jornada*:

"... and from him he (Thomas Cananeo) obtained many privileges and honours for the Christians among whom he lived, and a very spacious ground whereon to found a large Church, in keeping with the power and wealth of the founder; all which he ordered to write on copper ollas, which one Mar Jacob, Bishop of these Christians, fearing they might be lost, entrusted to (Pero de Sequeira) the factor of Cochin, when the Portuguese made the factory there, so that the Christians might make use of them when necessary; and in the factory they were many years in the

charge of the house, until from carelessness, they disappeared; whereof these Christians felt much concern, not having writings with which to defend themselves before the infidel Kings, who keep violating these their privileges, which, among other things, contained that the Christians alone, when they married, were allowed to wear the hair of their head tied with a golden flower, to ride on elephants, a privilege granted only to the heirs of Kings, to sit on carpets, and other honours which no other caste had, and which are of great value and esteem among the Malavars; and the Christians esteem them so much that, because the King of Paru (Parur in North Travancore) wished a very few years ago to grant one of these privileges to certain Moors of his Kingdom for a great sum of money which they gave him, the Christians rose against the Moors, and there were many deaths and much bloodshed on both sides"—(*Jornada,* fol. 4, col. 2).

Gouvea continues: "And, owing to these privileges and honours, these Christians are liked by the gentio Kings and considered of the best and oldest nobility of Malabar, even the first place therein being given to them, one more noble than have the Naires, who are the fidalgos and nobles of their kingdoms" (*loc. cit.,* col. 1).

"With these privileges, added to those which Xarao Perumal had left, the Christians of Malabar kept gaining much more credit, being held in such account that even now in the kingdoms beyond the Serra of the Pande, they are called sons of Kings"—(*loc. cit.,* col. 1).

Fr. Joao Maria Campori, in a letter written to Fr. General Aquaviva (April 1603) relates the following tradition connected with Thomas Cananeo:

According to the legend received by certain people, this Armenian Thomas of Cana had brought his wife from Babylonia and on arrival at Cranganore, had taken a concubine amongst the women of the country. According to others, on arrival he married one of St. Thomas' Christians and also had a slave as concubine. From these two women, one legitimate and the other concubine, sprang up two generations of Christians who looked upon each other as two different castes. That is why the people of these castes did not intermarry, and even in the same villages had different Churches, attended by different castes, although they mingled with each other for everything else. Naturally, each caste pretended in turn to be descended from the legitimate woman and, for that reason, to be superior to the other. This frequently gave rise among them to grave disorders and bloody brawls, with dead and wounded. But a detail worthy of remark is that this division seems to have affected only a part of these Christians; and the Father adds that "the best and greater part of these Christians are the descendants of those baptised by the Apostle St. Thomas".

[7] TEXT OF COSMAS INDICOPLEUSTES (*Migne*, P.G. 88, Col. 170)

"Taprobana insula ad interiorem Indiam, ubi indicum pelagus extat, Ecclesia Christianorum habetur ubi clerici et fideles reperiuntur, an ulterius etiam ignoro. Similiter in Male ut vocant, ubi gignitur piper. In Calliana vero, sic nuncupant, episcopus est in Perside ordinari solitus. Similiter in insula quae Dioscoridis vocatur, in eodem mari indico sita, cuius incolae graece loquuntur, suntque Coloni a Ptolomaeis Alexandri Macedonis successoribus istuc deportati, clerici reperiuntur ex Perside, ubi ordinantur eodem transmissi. Ibi etiam Christianorum multitudo versatur."

DE TAPROBANA INSULA.—Haec magna est Oceani insula, in mari Indico sita quae ab Indis Sielediva vocatur, a Graecis Taprobana ubi lapis jacintus reperitur, jacetque ultra piperis regionem .... Extat etiam in ea insula Ecclesia Christi advenarum ex Persis ac presbyter in Perside ordinatus eoque missus, diaconus idem cum reliquo Ecclesiastico ministerio. Indigenae vero et reges alieni cultus sunt. Haec insula ad exterius positas gentes merces transmittit, ad Malen videlicet in qua piper nascitur, ad Callianam ubi aes oritur necnon ligna sesamine et alia ad vestitum apta, est namque ipsa magnum emporium.

Celebriora porro Indiae emporia haec sunt Sindu, Orrhotha, Calliana, Sibor, Male quinque emporia habens, quibus piper emittitur: Parti, Mangaruth, Salopatana, Nalopatana, Pudupatana. Ulterius vero itinere quinque circiter dierum et noctium sita est Sielediva idest Taprobana. Deinde ulterius in continenti est Marallo quae cochleas, Caber quae alabandenum emittit, regio unde caryophyllon exit, demum Sina unde sericum advehitur. Ulterius vero nulla regio est nam Oceanus illam ad orientem ambit.

NOTE ON SOKOTRA AND MINICOY

FR. VINCENZO, O.C.D., in his *Viaggio*, p. 132, describes the religious conditions of Sokotra in the sixteenth century. He says that the people adore the Moon, to which sometimes they offer in sacrifice over a hundred heads of goats. They circumcise themselves, they do not eat pork, they avoid wine. Their Churches (*Moquame*) are low, dark, dirty. They smear their walls with ghee. On the altar they have only the Cross, with a candle burning before it. They carry it in procession and they pray to it. Why, they do not know. It is an ancient custom. Their Priests (*Odambo*) are changed every year. They carry a cross on their breast. Should they lose it or give it away, their hand would be cut off. They fast for sixty days, starting with the April new Moon. They have no notion of Baptism or of the other Sacraments.

The late Fr. H. Hosten, S.J., in his MSS. on *"Christian Antiquities in India"* tries to prove the existence of a Christian community also in the Maldive Islands. He quotes in support of his view numerous indications belonging to pre-Portuguese times. Monsignor Medlycott, W. Germann, W. Logan and Sir Henry Yule

share the same opinion. Sir W. Logan, Collector of Malabar, British Resident in Travancore and Cochin, author of a work on Malabar, writing to Mons. Medlycott (July 11, 1906) says: "The probability that Minicoy—a Maldive Island—was really Christian like Sokotra, is increased by the fact that it lay almost on the track of the merchant vessels. Just take a map of that Ocean and verify the fact that the vessels were bound to touch occasionally Minicoy" (p. 500 of the proof sheets of Fr. Hosten's work). Fr. Hosten remarks: "The last sparks of Christianity flickered out in Sokotra in the sixteenth century. Christianity in the Maldives would have succumbed at an earlier date owing to the overwhelming proselytism of Mohammedanism" (*from the same work*, p. 503).

NOTE ON THEOPHILOS

It is interesting to note that a native of the Maldives, Theophilos by name, lived at the court of the Arian Emperor Constantius, who, in the year 354, sent him on an embassy to Arabia, Abyssinia and India. After having visited his own native islands he passed on to the mainland. He noticed with disapproval that the Christians there heard the Gospel squatting down. He corrected them, and instructed them in the faith (*cf. La Missione di Mangalore*, Vol I, p. 443).

The above said Theophilus had been sent as an hostage to the court of Constantine. Being then very young, he received a Christian education and his training may also be said to have been ascetic. Eusebius of Nicomedia promoted him to the diaconate, and when just about to set out on the embassy (by Constantius to the Homerites) he was consecrated Bishop. The date is uncertain but it seems not unlikely that the letter of Constantius to the Kings of Axoum may have been written about 356, or a little after that date (*Duchesne*, Sep. Churches, p. 197).

The abuses referred to by Theophilus imply that the Christians there were a resident congregation; services were regularly held at which the Gospel was read, and consequently they had a ministering clergy. Everything goes to show beyond a reasonable doubt that the Christian community in India in 354 was an indigenous community (STEWART, *Nestorian Miss. Enterprise*, p. 88).

[8] LIST OF INDIAN BISHOPS

(1) (A.D. 325) John, Bishop of the great India and Persia (Signature of the Council) *cf.* Eusebius of Cesarea, present at the Council of Nicaea in his Vita Constantini, *Migne* P.G. VIII.

(2) Before John, we read of a certain Dudi or David who sailed from Basrah in 295. Nothing more.

(3) Joseph of Edessa in 345 was sent by the Catholicos of the East to Malabar (Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, p. 578).

N.B.—According to Ibn-at-Tayib, the Patriarch Isho-Yahb II made India a Metropolitan See with precedence over China, and the

XV in rank among all the Metropolitans of the Nestorian Church. But no source gives an indication of the location of this See.

(4) Thomas Cana, a monk selected by Timothy I at the time of the Schism of Riwardashir and sent to India in 795–824. So says the historian Thomas of Marga.

(5) Mar Sarisho (wrongly called Sapor) and Piruz (wrongly called Prodth) in 880. (The charter of the copper-plates speaks of Marvan-Sapir-Iso, which stands for the Syrian Maran-Sabr-Isho "My Lord JESUS is my hope" equal to the name given by Burnell; Ishodatavirai; a compound of Syriac and Persian Isho-dad = Jesus gave).

(6) Raulin and Lequien speak (in the year 1122–29) of a Bishop John, but no mention of him in any Syriac document.

(7) In 1490 John was ordained by the Nestorian Patriarch Simon the III and sent to Malabar (one of the three who came together) (*Assem. Bib. Or.*, III, p. 590).

(8) In 1503 there came Yahb Alaha ordained by Elijahs IV.

8a LETTER OF THE PATRIARCH ISHO-YAHB III (650–60)

To Simon the Metropolitan of Riwardshir: "Remember with these, our God-loving brother, that as you closed the door of the episcopal ordination in the face of the many peoples in India, and you impeded the gift of God for the sake of perishable gains which kindle the passions of the body, so also did our predecessors close in the face of your spiritual necessities the door of the gifts of God (Episcopal ordination) .... Because this gift has been and is, imparted in the canonical way. Lo! the world is full of Bishops, Priests and faithful numerous as the stars of Heaven, and they are still on the increase day by day. As far as your district is concerned, from the time you showed recalcitrance against ecclesiastical canons, the episcopal succession has been interrupted in India. And this country has since sat in darkness, far from the light of the divine teaching by means of rightful Bishops: not only India that extends from the borders of the Persian Empire to the country which is called Kalah, which is a distance of 1,200 parasangs, but even your own Fars" (*Liber Epist. in C.S.C.O.* v. *XIV*, pp. 251, 252-*Assm., B.O. III*, p. 113). Kalah, as mentioned by other Arabian travellers of the tenth century, is probably Ceylon known as Galla (Tennent's *Ceylon*). Yule identifies it with Coilum, Quilon, Kaulam, Kollum.

8b TIMOTHY I (779–823) in a letter to the monks of Maron concerning the Trisagion, writes: "And also in all the countries of Babylon of Persia and of Assyria, and in all the countries of the sunrise, that is to say, among the Indians, the Chinese and the Tibetans, the Turks, and in all the provinces under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchal see there is no addition of the "*Crucifixus est pro Nobis*". (Unpublished MSS. of Rendal Library, Birmingham.)

8c PATRIARCH THEODOSE (852–58) mentions in his writings the Bishops of Samarkand, India and China (*Mingana, l.c.*, p. 34).

9 Nothing is known as to the antiquity of the *Calicut Cross* which from time immemorial has been honoured there. Towards the year 1860 a private house belonging to a Tiyan family of Madatel Kunhi Korn was converted into a conventicle, and called Santa Cruz from the stone Cross that was there (see MAFFEI-MORE, *The History of the Diocese of Mangalore*, Kodyalbail Press, 1905, pp. 125–26). In 1885 the mud hut was replaced by a decent Chapel, built at the expense of a shop-keeper of Calicut named Anthony Fernandez. He formed also a Confraternity of the Holy Cross, which Bishop Pagani approved and confirmed when the Chapel was made over to him. The conditions attached to the transfer were, that Mass should be celebrated in the Chapel once a month and that the Mission should repair the building when needed (see Maffei-More, *op. cit.*, p. 294).

10 LIST OF SYRIAC MSS. IN THE VATICAN LIBRARY

(1) Cod. Syr. Vat. No. XXII—Church Lectionary of Pauline Epistles, written in 1501 by Zachariah at the time of Mar Yahb Alaha and Mar Jacob Metropolitan of India.

(2) Cod. Syr. Vat. XVII is a Syriac New Test. (Fol. 477), written by Jacob, Metropolitan of India in the town of Shingala (Cranganore) in the Church of the Apostle Thomas in 1821 of the Greeks (1510) on March 6th.

(3) Cod. Syr. Vat. IV, dated 1556. The books of the prophets, written 18 Feb. 1556 by Jacob, the disciple of Mar Jacob of the village of Phuraer.

(4) Synodical canons (mentioned by Giamil) of Abdisho, written in India 1557 by the Metropolitan Joseph.

(5) Cod. Syr. Vat. II, dated 1556, the book of the New Test. In the town of Angamale, May 9th, 1558, in the year of Kollam, 733.

(6) Cod. Syr. Vat. III, dated 1558, 26th January in Angamale, by George.

(7) Cod. Syr. Vat. LXXXV, dated 1562. The breviary for the ferial days of the year according to the rite of the monastery of St. Gabriel and St. Abraham near Mosul. "It was written in the blessed royal town of Angamale, in the Holy Church of O. Lady, the blessed Mary, Mother of Light and Life—may her prayer be a rampart to us .... by Simon Son of Simon, who is by name a Priest .... and a native of Angamale."

(List taken from *Mingana*, p. 71.)

11 *Copper-plates.*—Much has been written about the copper-plates of Mar Jacob, also called the Thomas Cana Plates. GOES gives their description: "*Ha scriptura era Caldeu, Malabar, e Arabic. Estas taboas sao de metal fino, de palmo e meo cada hua de comprido, e quatro dedos de largo, scriptas damba las bandas e infiadas pela banda de cima*" (I. 98). Then he gives a summary of the contents adding, that a Jew deciphered them

with great difficulty and translated them into the Malabar tongue, from which they were translated into Portuguese and a copy sent to Portugal, but that he could not find it in the National Archives and that the original must still (1558) be in the Factory of Cochin.

COUTO gives the text according to the Jew's translation (12, 3, 5, 283–85) and says that on his arrival at Cochin (1559), he still found the originals in the Factory, but that of late (he writes in 1603) they had disappeared. Roz in 1604 gives the same text, somewhat fuller, "following a copy left in India, as the Franciscans had taken the originals to Portugal" (*Relacao*, 86v-87v).

But when the copper-plates of Mar Jacob disappeared, a "new set" was discovered in the possession of the Christians of Tevalacara near Quilon. GOUVEA, writing in 1603 deploring the loss of the former set, tells us how Archbishop Menezes in 1599 saw at Tevalacara a set of 3 plates, with writing on both sides joined by a ring, 2 palms long and 4 fingers broad, containing the privileges of the Quilon Church, "written in different letters and characters, Malavar, Canarin, Tamil and letters of Bisnaga" (*Jornada do Archbishop de Goa D. Aleixo de Menezes*, Coimbra 1601 l.i.c. 2). Roz adds that the Plates were in the possession of the "*tarega ou rendeiro de Teualicare*" and that he, Roz, in 1601 had a translation made by Cassanar Etymana, of which he gives a summary (*Relacao*, 8cv). Plates dealing with the privileges of the Manigramam Christians are partly engraved on stone in Quilon in the actual Jacobite Church. (See T. K. JOSEPH, *Malabar Christians and their Ancient Documents*, Trivandrum, 1919, App. VII). In 1758 Plates are again mentioned in or near Quilon in the possesion of Schismatics (*Germann, die Kriche der Thomas Christian* 228, Kerala Society Papers 4, 192). The Mar Jacob (Thomas Cana) and the Tevalacara Plates mentioned above are regarded as lost (JOSEPH, *Malabar Christians*, 32). We (*i.e.*, Fr. Placid, T.O.C.D.), however, incline to the following hypothesis: The measures given by Goes and Gouvea are rough estimates; the description of Pero de Siqueira, given after his return to Portugal and reproduced by Goes, is perhaps partly incorrect as is his statement about de Sousa. The "translation" of the Jew, reproduced by Couto and Roz, is fantastical, giving one or other well- or half-understood word and for the rest the oral tradition of what the St. Thomas Christians thought the plates contained; and the Mar Jacob Plates are identical with the Tevalacara and these, with the Quilon Tarisa Plates II, described and partly deciphered in the Travancore Archæological Series (Trivandrum, 1920 II, 70–85) and belonging to the time of King Sthanu Ravi (end of ninth century). Of these plates, No. I is missing; II and III are in the Old Syrian Christian Seminary of Kottayam (since Macaulay, 1806); IV in the palace of the Bishop of the Mar Thomas Syrian Christians at Tiruvalla. Plates II and III, written

in Vatteluttu and Grantha letters are in Tamil and contain the donation of land by the King of Quilon to Maruvan Sapir Iso, the builder of the Tariso Church at Quilon, and the concession of privileges to the Anjuvannam and Manigramam communities. Plate IV gives the signatures in Pahlavi, Kufic and Hebrew. The text is "full of unintelligible words and phrases" and the signatures have only partly been deciphered. The following dates agree in the Mar Jacob, Tevalacara and Quilon Plates, which we call shortly A, B and C (an English translation of Couto's and Roz's text is given in the interesting Monography of the *Kerala Society Papers* 4, 180). Copper-plates, with writing on both sides, in different characters, mentioning a donation of land, given by the King to the leader of the Christians, who builds a Church (ABC). The leader is Sapor- Sapir; the place, Quilon (BC). The land is measured by an elephant (AC); the king gives, besides, 72 *viduperu*-gifts (A. 62 or 72 cases, B. 72 hortas; the Jew read wrongly *vidu* = houses) and five parts (A, 5 tributes; C. *panchakhandi*-5 parts?) and privileges to the Manigramam (B, inscription 1637-C), and Direitos, corretagem, chapa, peso" (BC). Further literature see in *Kerala Soc. Papers* 4, 169, 198 and 201.

N.B.—This note has been taken from Fr. Schurhammer's pamphlet on *Malabar and Rome*, edited by Fr. Placid, T.O.C.D.

[12] *Alfred the Great* and his gifts to the monastery of St. Thomas. The monastery spoken of, mentioned before by St. Gregory of Tours (590), seems to be the one on the Arabian side of the Persian Gulf, described in the acta of Yonan by Abbot Zadoi, in the vicinity of a town called Milon (Mazon, Oman), the inhabitants of which fish pearls. It is situated at a distance of six days' journey from the town of Maron. It has no grapes but the fruits consist mainly of dates. Its wine comes from Persia. It has on its shores crabs of enormous size.

Yakut also speaks of a monastery of St. Thomas and quotes about it a poetical piece of Marrar al Fak'asi. It is not possible that an early Arabian poet should have praised the beauty of a monastery situated in Ceylon (the Black Island of Abbot Zadoi) or on the Coromandel Coast or even in Malabar. Hence the same doubts and confusion exist for the embassy of Alfred the Great in 883. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles say that Sighelm and Aethalstan conveyed to Rome the alms which the King had vowed to send thither and also to India, to St. Thomas and St. Bartholomew" (B. T. HORPE's *The Ang. Sax. Chron.*, II, 66).

[13] *Cf.* MACKENZIE's *op. cit.*, p. 7. See also *La Missione*, etc., p. 437. Marco Polo still thinks that the body of the Apostle is in Malabar. He probably extends the name of Malabar to the East Coast.

[14] John of Monte Corvino was sent as a Missionary to China by Pope Nicholas IV. He became Archbishop of Cambalec in Cathay. He affirms that his companion, who died in India, was buried in the Church of St. Thomas. (*Cf. La Missione*, etc., p. 438. MACKENZIE'S *op. cit.*, p. 8, and Note 19.)

[15] Friar Jordan's strictures about the Malabar Christians are strong. But did he know the language sufficiently to understand them? An Avignon Pope, John XXII, sent him back to India in 1330, as Bishop of Quilon. He gave him letters for the Chief of the Nazarene Christians, asking him to be kind to the new Bishop and inviting him, together with his people, to return to the bosom of the Church. It is not known whether Friar Jordan ever reached his destination. (*Cf.* MACKENZIE, p. 8; and COL. YULE'S Preface to the Hakluyt edition of the *Mirabilia*, London, 1863.)

[16] JOSEPH THE INDIAN ON THE CHRISTIANS OF MALABAR

"Two Christian brothers came from a certain town called Cranganore. They wanted to get to the Occidental parts to be enabled to go to Rome and Jerusalem. ...... They ascended the Caravels. And they took their way to Portugal. Of these brothers one died on the way, the other is alive and is called Joseph. Hereafter they arrived in Lisbon at the end of June 1501. After their arrival in the said place, the said Joseph remained there till the month of January. And when he departed from that place, he was, by order of His Majesty the King of that country, given a certain person to accompany him to Rome, Venice and Jerusalem. After having been therefore at Rome, he came from there to Venice in the year 1502 in the month of June, and remained there for many days. During this time, the informations of the things written below were got from the said Joseph.

C. 230. The aforesaid Joseph is a man of forty years old, meagre, of a brownish colour and of common stature. After the judgment of those who saw him and spoke with him, he is an intelligent man, veracious and of the greatest integrity, as far as one could judge from his conversation, he is of an exemplary life and one can call him a man of very great faith.

(Then follows a description of the Hindu religion as practised in Cranganore, after which the editor adds):

There are many other sacrifices, but as Joseph did not know the language well enough and had not had much conversation with the Gentiles, so he could not explain all. .....

(Then follows a description of the Christians, "living from the Indus up to Ormus" and in Cranganore, of whom Joseph said:)

These aforesaid Christians have in spiritual things as their head a Pontiff, 12 Cardinals, 2 Patriarchs, Bishops and Archbishops. The said Joseph told that he departed from the said town of Cranganore with a Bishop, his superior. Ascending a ship he went

towards the Island of Ormus. ...... From there he went to the mainland and travelled for three months. So he went with the said Bishop up to Armenia to find his Pontiff. By him this Bishop was consecrated and the said Fr. Joseph was ordained Priest. And the like do all the Christians of India and of Catai.

This his Pontiff is called Catholicha and he has his head shaven in the form of a Cross. He nominates his Patriarchs, as has been said above, namely, one in India and the other in Catai. The other Bishops and Archbishops, as has been said above, he sends to their provinces, as he thinks fit. This Catholicha is mentioned in *Marco Polo*, where he treats of Armenia, for he says there that there are two generations of Christians, of which the first are called Jacobites, the second Nestorians, and he says that they have a Pope who is called Jacolita, which is this Catholica, of whom the aforesaid Fr. Joseph has spoken.

Besides, he says that the said Pope creates Bishops, Archbishops and Patriarchs and sends them to India. There might now be some who will ask what authority this Pontiff has. Our Pontiff Alexander, when the aforesaid Fr. Joseph was at Rome and spoke with His Holiness about the region of India, the Pontiff asked him who had given this authority to his Catholicha. And Fr. Joseph answered him that at the time of Simon Magus, Saint Peter was Pontiff in Antiochia. And as the Christians in the parts of Rome were molested by the craft of this Simon Magus, and as there was nobody who could withstand him, they sent to Saint Peter entreating him, to transfer himself to Rome. So he left a Vicar behind in his place and went to Rome. And this is the one who at present is called Catholicha and he rules in the name of Peter. And, as regards the creation of the Pontiff or Catholicha, the 12 aforesaid Cardinals betake themselves to the province of Armenia where they create their Pontiff, which authority they say they have from the Roman Pontiff.

C. 234. How they consecrate and bury the dead with their feasts.

They have, besides, priests, deacons and sub-deacons. They go to Confession and Communion as we do, but they have not got the extreme unction; they bless the body instead. .....

C. 239. When they asked Fr. Joseph whether in that place (Cranganore) our parts were mentioned, he said that people do not mention them, except Rome, France and Venice. And that they hold in the greatest esteem the Venetian coins. Which Fr. Joseph having been called before our Illustrissima Signoria, showed some monies of the Doge de Ca Sten (Michele Steno, Doge 1400–14), which he had brought with him from those parts ...... So far the Relation of Joseph the Indian.

Also Joseph Indus informs us that in Malabar the Churches were adorned by Crosses, but had no Pictures. Baptism was administered to infants. Leavened bread was used for the

Eucharist. They had Confession. No Extreme Unction. They fasted during Advent and Lent. They had Monasteries, books and great teachers. In the palace of the Zamorin at Calicut, there were four big halls, one for Hindus, one for Muslims, one for Jews and one for Christians. We may add here what W. Germann, in his *Die Kirche der Thomas Christian* (Gutersloth, 1877) quotes from the *Novus Orbis*:

"In theatro (urbis Calicut) visuntur aulae sive coenacula magna quatuor quae singula singulis patent nationibus: alia indis, mauris alia, alia indis, christianis alia patet; unaquaeque natio novit suum auditorium; in alieno non admittitur. Privi priva loca audientiae habent et ibi expediuntur; verum eo prius non accedunt quam loti fuerint, alioquin ad regem minime admittuntur, illoti videlicet, utpote immundi ac foedi" (p. 255).

And again, "Calechut, urbs Christianorum (?) colitur ab Indis Christianis" (p. 315).

17 As to the Mangalore Cross see also J. Moore's, S.J., *The History of the Diocese of Mangalore*, pp. 2–3, Mangalore, 1905. See also F. D'Souza's *Oriente Conquistado*, Parte I, Conquista I, Div. I, par. 18–19, p. 15 of the Bombay ed. of 1886.

We think it will interest our readers to know of a similar discovery in Goa in 1510. Hieronimus Osorius writes: "Now it happened, after the island (of Goa) had come into the possession of the Portuguese, that when a Portuguese made deep foundations for a house, he found a Cross made of brass, which was a strong proof that it had formerly been inhabited by Christians". *Cf.* W. Germann, *op. cit.*, p. 78 foot-note. He quotes in Latin Osorius' *De Rebus Emman Gestis*: L.8. Another authority is Fr. J. P. Maffei, S.J. When Affonso de Albuquerque had taken Goa the second time, on November 25, 1510, he hastened to fortify the town. "While for the purpose they pulled down the temples of the idols and the tombs of the Pagans and other buildings, they found within the walls of a house a brass image of the Cross with Christ Crucified; an evident proof that there had been formerly in these countries .... the Christian faith. Albuquerque and all good people greatly rejoiced at the discovery .... Presently the image was cleansed. Not without tears and with the pomp and solemnity which circumstances then allowed, it was carried by a Priest to the newly constructed Church of the Christians, whence it was sent later on as a most valuable present to Emmanuel, who valued these things a great deal more than gold and precious stones". (*Cf. Historiarum Indicarum Libri XVI*, Antverpiae, ex-Officina Martini Nutti Anno MDCV, pp. 125–26.)

The fact is related also in the *Commentaries of the Great Affonso de Albuquerque* (cf. Trans. by W. De Gray Birch, *Hakluyt Soc.*, III, 1880, 17–18) and by Joao de Barros *Da Asia*, Dec. 2, Liv. 5, C.i.); Francis de Souza, *Oriente Conqustado* (Parte I, Div. par. 18–19, pp. 13–15 of the Bombay ed., 1886) gives the same account and adds .... "the memory of this discovery is still preserved now-a-days in the name '*Rua do Crucifixo*'. We do not therefrom conclude to a Christian settlement in Goa, because Goa was founded 31 years before this event and before its foundation, according to the tradition of the Moors, it was a forest, a hunting ground, where stood the pleasure houses of the Sabayo, and, had there been any Christianity, the memory of it could not have been lost in such a short time".

Crosses were also discovered by Francisco de Almeida at Anjidiv in 1505. This place is situated 2 miles south of Karwar in N. Kanara. It is an island.

F. C. Dannavar's *The Portuguese in India* (London, Allen 1894, I, 120) says: "At Anjediva (an island 2 miles from the coast of N. Kanara and about 51 miles south-east of Goa) Don Francisco de Almeida erected a fort, and it is said that in digging the foundations, the Portuguese came across stones bearing a Cross. This was held as an indication that the place had once been the abode of Christians."

CHAPTER II

THE COMING OF PORTUGUESE

(1498–1534)

1. THE LANDING OF VASCO DE GAMA IN CALICUT (1498)

ON the 25th of May 1898 the Catholics of Calicut celebrated the fourth centenary of the landing of Vasco de Gama. Fr. A. Maffei, S.J., delivered a learned lecture in which he enumerated the causes which led up to the great event, he dwelt upon the main points of Gama's voyage, he discussed the question of the place where the landing was effected and the exact date when it took place.

As to the causes, the most important was the desire on the part of the Portuguese to avoid travelling through Muslim dominions, which was dangerous, on account of the enmity between Christians and Mohammedans, and expensive, on account of the heavy tolls which the Muslim Princes demanded from merchants. Thus in the fifteenth century Europe's trade with India had diminished considerably. To revive it, Portugal thought of a possible sea route round the Cape, which would make commercial relations with India independent of Muslim interference. B. Dias actually succeeded in doubling the Cape, but the fury of the sea prevented him from continuing his voyage to India. This was accomplished eleven years later by Vasco de Gama, who left Lisbon on the 25th of March 1497, and with a favourable wind reached St. Helena on the 18th of August. The expedition consisted of three small vessels, the St. Raphael, under Gama's immediate command, the St. Gabriel, under Gama's own brother Paul, and the St. Mingel, under Nicholas Coelho. Each ship was manned by a crew of 80 men, who had prepared themselves for the difficult enterprise by invoking God's help, and by receiving the Sacraments. Two Trinitarian Monks accompanied Vasco de Gama. One, Padre Rodrigo Annes, died during the voyage at Mozambique, the other, Padre Pedro de Covilham, landed in India with the discoverer. Vasco weathered the Cape in November 1497. Natal was sighted on Christmas Day, and on the 6th of January 1498 they entered the so-called River of Mercy. They stayed there one month, careening the ships and breaking up the St. Mingel, the crew of which was distributed between the other two ships. They left the place in February and at the end of March reached Mozambique, where they remained twenty days. From Mozambique they went to Mombaza, and arrived at Melinde on the 29th of April. The King of Melinde provided them with pilots and a broker to help them in their trade. They sailed from Melinde on the 6th of August and sighted Mount Delly, North of Cannanore, on the 26th of August. They came down along the coast and cast anchor at a place named Kappokate. This according to the narrative of Mendes Correa. Fr. Maffei endeavours to prove—and successfully, as I think—that the place of de Gama's landing was not Calicut but Pantalayini, not far from Quilandi, where there is a mud bank and a kind of bay, which makes the landing feasible even during the monsoon. Further, as to the date of landing, he follows Mendes Correa against many others, who take May 20th or 28th as the date of landing. Since the matter is not of great importance, we shall not discuss it here. (1)

2. THE VISIT TO THE TEMPLE

After Gama had landed in Malabar, he endeavoured to enter into commercial relations with the Zamorin. But the jealousy of Moorish traders put many obstacles in the way. Yet, he finally succeeded in gaining access to the Zamorin, and obtained permission to open a trading "Factory" in Calicut. In a history of the Mission, rather than tracing the development of the pepper trade in Malabar, it will be of interest to read of the Portuguese visit to a temple, which some mistook for a Christian Church. In relating this quaint adventure, we shall follow the account of Fernao Lopez de Castanheda.[1] From the above named place (*i.e.*, Pantalayni) the Catual took Vasco de Gama to a pagoda of his idols, telling him it was a

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[1] *Hist. Do Descobrimento e Conquista da India* L.I.A.C., 16, pp. 56–7, Lisboa, 1733.

church of much devotion, and he thought so the more as he saw above the chief gate seven small bells (*sinos*), and before it a copper pillar as high as a ship's mast, on the capital thereof was a big bird of the same copper, which appeared to be a cock. And the Church was as big as a monastery, made entirely of hewn stones and roofed with bricks, which bade fair to be a fine building within. And Vasco de Gama was much pleased to see it, and he thought he was among Christians. And when he had entered with the Catual, we were received by some men, naked from the girdle upwards and covered downwards with certain cloths up to the knees, and with another cloth thrown over the shoulder. They had nothing on their head, and had a certain number of threads from the top of the left shoulder which passed under the right shoulder in the way the Deacons wear the stole when they serve at Mass; and these men are called Cafres, and in Malabar they serve in the Pagodas. With a sprinkler they sprinkled water from a font on Vasco de Gama and the Catual and our people; next they gave them ground sandal to put on their head, as we here put ashes, and to put it so on the brawn of their arms; ours did not put it there, as they were dressed, but they put it on their head. And, as they went through that Church, they saw many images on the walls, and some of them had teeth so big that they came an inch out of their mouth, and others had four arms, and they were so ugly of countenance as to look like devils. This made ours doubt somewhat whether it was a Church of Christians and when they had come before the Chapel, which was in the middle of the body of the Church, they saw it had a summit, like a Cathedral, also of hewn stone. And on one side of this summit there was a brass door, admitting one man, and they went up to it by a stone staircase, within the Chapel, which was a little dark. There was, placed in the wall, an image, which was descried from outside, because they would not let them go inside, signifying to them that only the Cafres could enter there; and there, pointing to the image, called it SANCTA MARIA, giving them to understand that that was their image. And, as it appeared so to Vasco de Gama, he knelt down, and ours with him, and they prayed. And Joao da Saa, who doubted whether that was a Church of Christians, because of the ugliness of the images that had been painted on the walls, said, while kneeling down, "If this is the devil, I worship the true God". And Vasco de Gama, who heard him, looked towards him, smiling. And the Catual and his people, who stood before the Chapel, prostrated themselves on the ground with their hands in front, and this three times, and then they rose and prayed standing".

It is difficult to say where the temple stood, and what idols were worshipped in it. Was it Mariamma, the Goddess of smallpox? Was it "Ram, Ram, Ram", which, frequently repeated, suggested some similarity with Mary's name? De Barros thinks that the mistake was due also to the rumour, which the Portuguese had heard from the Moors, that those people were some of the Christians of St. Thomas.

The author of the introduction to *Calcoen*, a Dutch narrative of the second voyage of Vasco de Gama to Calicut, believes that the Portuguese mistook Maha Madja, holding in her lap her son Shakia, for the Blessed Virgin Mary.[2] Whatever be the case, the Portuguese soon discovered their mistake, and found that Calicut contained no Christians. Similarly no Christians were found at Mount Delly, though the author of the Catalan Map would lead us to expect their presence there.

3. The First Martyr—P. Pedro de Covilham

Danvers[3] gives a fine description of Vasco de Gama's interview with the Zamorin. In Payne[4] can be read the letter which the Zamorin addressed to the King of Portugal, expressing his pleasure at the prospect of trade with him. But the Moorish merchants entertained great fears as to the security of their own trade, and began plotting against the new comers. They bribed the Catual, who had to bring Vasco de Gama back to the ships, to kill him. He detained the leader in a house of a village on the way back, in the hope of causing him to break out into violence, but without the desired effect. Vasco's brother, Paul, who was on the ships, seeing that his brother was detained

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2 The work was first printed at Antwerp in 1504. It was translated and published in London in 1874 by J. Ph. Berycan.

3 *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 54 sqq.

4 *Vasco de Gama and His Successors*, p. 582.

like a prisoner, made known his intention that, if Vasco was not released, he would destroy all the ships in the port. The Zamorin, hearing this, ordered the immediate release of Gama, who afterwards was told by a Castilian Mahommedan, then in Calicut, that the ill-treatment he had received was caused by the Catual, who, for large bribes given him by the Moors, had done everything without the King's knowledge.

Now, according to various authors, Padre Pedro de Covilham, Vasco de Gama's Confessor—while Vasco was striving to introduce commercial relations between India and Portugal—endeavoured to gain pearls for heaven. He began to preach, both among the Hindus and the Moors, but the latter, already enraged that new dangers had arisen for their trade, would not listen to him, and finally killed him before the year was out. Tradition knows nothing certain, either about his conversions, or his work, or the details of his death. In fact it seems difficult to understand how he could have preached at all, ignorant as he was of the language of the place. Yet Trinitarian historians attribute to him a prophecy made just before dying which is of some interest, and which is reported by Daniello Bartoli, the great seventeenth century historian of the Society.[5] He writes: "No sooner was Xavier born than he was promised for the conversion of India in India itself by express revelation made to the Ven. Friar Peter de Covilham, Religious of the Most Holy Trinity for the Redemption of Slaves, who had accompanied Vasco de Gama in his voyage and had been his Confessor. This man (as we read in the ancient records which the same Order keeps in its Archives at Coimbra), in the very act of being killed with arrows by the Indians, moved by the spirit of prophecy, said: 'Not many years will pass that a new Religious Order will be founded in God's Church, under the name of Jesus; and one of its first Fathers, led by the Holy Spirit will penetrate to the remotest parts of the East Indies; and a great part of those nations, in virtue of his preaching, will embrace the Catholic faith.' With these words on his lips he died". The episode is related also by Fr. De Souza, S.J., in

[5] *Memorie Storiche Delli Uomini e Dei Fatti Della Compagnia di Gesu*, Libro I, p. 47, Torino, Marietti, 1847.

Oriente Conquistado, I Part, p. 477,[6] and by Fr. Joao de Figueroa in *Chronica da Illustrissima Ordem da SS. Trindade.* Fr. A. Brou, S.J.,[7] remarks that the most ancient biographers ignore the episode. Similarly the Chroniclers, Barros, Correa, Castanheda, etc., do not mention it. It is not read in the narratives—though most detailed—of Gama's voyage, which we possess. On the face of it one feels inclined to discredit the narrative, though it is rather difficult to explain how the legend originated. (2)

4. Franciscan Victims

When Vasco de Gama returned to his motherland, all Portugal echoed with his fame. He had brought back from India a big cargo of spices, and had ascertained what products were most useful for barter in Malabar; and though the immediate advantages of the expedition had not been very great, he had opened the way for others to follow. Already on March the 8th, 1500, a new expedition with 13 ships was ready to set sail under the command of Don Pedro Alvarez Cabral. The expedition was accompanied by one Vicar, 8 secular Priests and 8 Franciscans (Observants of the Province of Portugal). The latter were P. Henrique Alvaro from Coimbra in the quality of superior, P. Gasper, P. Francisco da Cruz, P. Simao de Guimarraes, P. Luis de Salvador. Besides these Missionaries, there was P. Masseu, organist and musician, Pedro Neto, student of Theology and Joao de Vittoria, lay-brother. Gasper de Gama, a converted Jew, who had come to Europe with Vasco de Gama, accompanied them as interpreter. They set sail on the 9th of March. Ten ships were destined for Calicut; two for Mozambique, and one was a provision boat. But they were driven West by the winds, and on April the 25th they went ashore on a new land, which they called Santa Cruz, on account of a Cross which Cabral planted there. The land thus newly discovered was later called Brasil. Padre Henrique preached a sermon at the foot of the Cross on Easter Sunday, and another Franciscan celebrated Mass for the first time in Brasil. Cabral then set sail again, visited Mozambique, Quiloa and

[6] Lisboa, Valentim da Costa Deslandes, 1710.
[7] *Saint Francis Xavier*, Tome I, p. 128, Paris, Beauchesne, 1912.

Melinde. The Franciscans preached in all these places, though without success. At Quiloa there was a riot and they were wounded by some fanatics. They were more fortunate on the island of Angediva, where they baptized 22 persons. On September the 13th they entered Calicut. After some difficulties, the Zamorin allowed the Fathers to preach the Faith in his Kingdom, and they, having built a small Church (the first erected by Portugal in India) began to announce the Gospel. It is clear that they must have made themselves understood by the same means as were used by the merchants to establish their trade.

It will be interesting to read the instructions given by the King to Pedralvarez Cabral.[8]

It says: "Before he (*i.e.,* Admiral Cabral) attacked the Moors and idolators of those parts with the material and secular sword, he was to allow the Priests and Monks to use their spiritual sword, which was to declare to them the Gospel, with admonitions and requisitions on the part of the Roman Church, asking them to abandon their idolatries, diabolical rites and customs, and to convert themselves to the faith of Christ, for all men to be united and joined in charity of religion and love, since we were all the work of one Creator, and redeemed by one Redeemer, Who was Christ Jesus, promised by the Prophets and hoped for by the Patriarchs, for so many thousand years before He came. For which purpose they brought them all the natural and legal arguments which the Canon Law disposes of. And should they be so contumacious as not to accept this Law of faith, and should they reject the law of peace, which ought to be maintained among men for the conservation of the human kind, and should they forbid commerce and exchange, which are the means by which peace is conciliated and obtained (since this commerce is the foundation of human polity, if the contracting parties agreed in religion and belief in the truth of which each one is obliged to hold and believe of God) in that case they should put them to fire and sword, and carry on fierce war against them."

8 *The Three Voyages of Vasco de Gama. From the Lendas Da India of Gasper Correa.* Translated by the Hon. Henry, s.J. Stanley. London, 1869. Hakluyt Society. Pp. 186–87.

so naive and yet so fierce. The object of the Portuguese discoverers was twofold; the preaching of the Gospel and the establishment of commercial relations. Both were praiseworthy, though on different planes.

It was unfortunate that they were mixed up; and the threats with which the Indians were to be frightened, should they refuse the Gospel, boded no good to the Religion of Christ.

According to Portuguese reports[9] the Fathers converted a Brahmin, who, at his Baptism, received the name Michael a S. Maria, and several Nairs. In the meantime, Cabral obtained from the Zamorin a warehouse, called a Feytoria by the Portuguese, and handed over its administration to the merchant, Airas Correa. Pepper, however, was coming in very slowly; and the Moors refused to acknowledge the monopoly which the Portuguese claimed to have obtained from the Zamorin. On December 16th, 1500, a rising took place against the Portuguese; the warehouse was destroyed, three Franciscans were killed and P. Henrique grievously wounded. Among the paintings in the old Franciscan Convent of St. Francis of Assisi at Goa, there is also the painting of these victims, whom, however, we hesitate to call Martyrs. Their names were P. Gaspar, the missionary, P. Masseu, the organist, and Fr. Pedro Neto, the Student of Theology. We doubt whether the cause of their martyrdom was purely spiritual. Details are lacking, and so no certain conclusion can be reached. About fifty other Portuguese were killed before they could reach their ships.

After this Cabral went to Cochin, whereto the remaining Franciscans followed him; they preached in the town and in the Island of Vaipim, Michael a S. Maria serving as interpreter. Cabral sailed from Cochin in January 1501, leaving there seven Portuguese. He visited Cannanore, where he constructed a Factory, and sailed back to Portugal. He took with him two Thomas Christians from Cranganore, named Joseph and Mathias.

The latter died on the journey whereas the former reached

9 *Barros,* Dec. I, Lib. 3, 97, Col. 2.

Lisbon on July 31st, 1501. From there he went to Rome and Venice and by way of Lisbon returned to India. This is the Joseph Indus of whom mention was made elsewhere and who told such incredible tales about Calicut. From among the Franciscans, P. Henrique also followed Cabral. In 1505 he was made Bishop of Ceuta and Administrator of the Diocese of Evora. He died in 1532. Of the others, P. Francisco de Cruz remained in Cochin. P. Simao de Guimaraes exercised his zeal chiefly among the Thomas Christians. P. Luis de Salvador stayed first at Cannanore, then at Cochin. He lived for some time at the court of the King of Diamper, and after that he went to Mylapore to visit the tomb of St. Thomas. He also undertook several embassies between the Portuguese in India and the Raja of Bisnagor.[10] Cabral, before leaving Calicut for Cochin revenged himself against the Moors and the Hindus who had killed the Missionaries and some of the Portuguese soldiers. He set fire to two big ships, then anchored in the port of Calicut, and destroyed them with all the goods they were loaded with. He captured the sailors who tried to save themselves by jumping overboard. He set his guns against the city and nearly destroyed it. Though the Missionaries had nothing to do in these retaliatory measures, still by the very fact that they were associated with the fierce Europeans, an impression was created against them among the Natives, which will never entirely die out. Rightly or wrongly, the Gospel of the Prince of Peace was coming to them under the protection of sword and fire.[11]

5. Other Expeditions—More Martyrs

The expedition of Joao da Nova, which reached India in 1501, brought four more Franciscans. He continued the warfare with Calicut, and strengthened the friendly relations with the Raja of Cochin. The Franciscans probably divided themselves between Cannanore and Cochin. Owing to the generosity of the Raja of Cannanore, the Portuguese ships were soon loaded,

[10] *Comm de' Albuquerque*, II, C. 17, 90; III, C. 8, 41, Wadding XV; 95, Belem, I, 156.

[11] On the Martyrs of the Cabral's Expedition see Fernando da Soledade, *Historia Seraphica Chronologica*, III, Lib. 4 and 5, *Barros*, Dec. I, Lib. 5, 85, besides the authors quoted in the text.

and da Nova sailed for Portugal at the beginning of 1502, leaving his European merchandise with two clerks in a small factory at Cannanore.

Vasco de Gama with a great fleet reached Cannanore at the end of 1502. He thanked the Raja for his favours and delivered to him rich presents from the King of Portugal. Vasco had on his ships other Franciscans. The good Friars, however, were unable to quench the revengeful fire which was burning in the heart of Vasco. The triumphal return home had not made him forget the anxious days he had passed in Calicut on his first voyage, and the slaughter of his companions. But let us leave the narration of de Gama's frightful revenge to the author of *Calcoen* quoted above. "On the 27th day of October we sailed from Cannanore and arrived in a Kingdom called Calcoen (Calicut), which is 40 miles from Cannanore and we mustered our forces before the town, and we fought with them during three days, and we took a great number of people, and we hanged them to the yards of the ships, and taking them down, we cut off their hands, feet, and heads, and took one of their ships, and threw into it the hands, feet and heads, and we wrote a letter which we put on a stick and we left that ship go adrift towards the land, we took there a ship which we put on fire, and burnt many of the subjects of the King." The good Franciscans were helpless spectators of this carnage. They only could manage to prevent the slaughter of the children who were on board. In fact, they took care of them, and after convenient instruction, Baptism was conferred on them. Gama brought them back to Lisbon, and they were addicted to the services of the Church of Belem.[12]

In September 1503, Don Francisco De Albuquerque arrived in India. He had with him five Dominicans one of whom was P. Domingo de Souza, named Vicar General and provided with extensive faculties. Little is known about their work, or the places where they stayed. After de Gama's departure, the Zamorin invaded the territory of Cochin, threatening the

[12] *Cf.* Marcellino da Civezza, *Storia delle Missioni Francescane. Prato Tipografia Guasti*, 1881; pp. 205–13. See also Maffei, *Istorie delle Indie Orientali*, Libro I.

Raja, who had become an ally of Portugal, and asking him to surrender the Portuguese. The Raja refused. Then Cochin was besieged, taken and burnt. The Raja and the Portuguese retired to the Island of Vypeen, where they were besieged for many months. Finally they were liberated by the timely arrival of Albuquerque, who forced the Zamorin to retire.

A few days later arrived in India the great Alfonso de Albuquerque, who proceeded to build a fort in Cochin. Meanwhile Francisco patched up a truce with the Zamorin and in 1504 both the Albuquerque's sailed back to Portugal from Cannanore.

In October 1505 Don Francisco D'Almeida, who had been appointed first Viceroy of the East Indies by King Manoel, reached Cannanore with a strong fleet. There was no desire of going straight to Calicut, owing to the state of war with the Zamorin, and the excesses committed by Vasco de Gama in 1502, and in 1504 by Lopo Soares. He had with him more Franciscan Missionaries. He obtained permission from the Raja of Cannanore to build a fort, which he did, and called it Sant' Angelo. In fort Sant' Angelo was built a chapel with materials brought from Europe, which is one of the oldest built by Europeans in India. This Chapel is still existing, but is transformed into a guard-room.[13] King Manoel had ordered that a Franciscan Convent should be built in Cannanore. It was called the Convent of "Sant' Antonio". Fr. Paul de Coimbra, the Commissary of the Franciscans in India, was to be the Guardian in Cannanore, but, no sooner was Sant' Antonio ready than he left it to go and preach among the Arabs of Maskate. In Cannanore itself, however, there were some conversions, for we read in *The Book of Durte Barbosa*:[14]

"In this city the King our Lord possesses a fortress and a trading factory in perfect peace, love and safety and around the fort is a town of Christians of this country, married men with their wives and children, who were converted to our Holy Faith after it was built, and continue daily to be converted." From Cannanore many a zealous Missionary went out to preach the Gospel. The Moors, having taken Fr. Martin da Guarda (different from a Friar of the same name who was martyred in Ceylon) proposed to him the alternative of renouncing Christianity or dying. He refused and had his head cut off. The two other victims were Fr. John of Elves and Fr. Xistus. Whether they were martyred near Cochin or near Cannanore it is not certain. In the fortress of Cunhale—near Badagara—in a mosque, Fr. Francis Gallego (Gallyo) was beheaded. Later, on 21st September 1551, Fr. Francisco Estevan was pierced by a lance and done to death by the Moors on the Malabar Coast, while going from Goa to Cochin. These heroes, who watered with their blood the seed of the Gospel, are scarcely remembered by the Christians of Malabar. Should not their memories be dug out from the ruins of the past, and the cause of their martyrdom be better studied?[15]

A new fleet of nine transport vessels sailed for India under Tristao de Cunha in March 1506. He had on board secular Priests and Franciscans. On the March 10, 1506, the fleet of the Zamorin was defeated off Cannanore by Lourenço Almeida, the Viceroy's son. In 1507, the new Kolattiri (Raja) of Cannanore, who was less friendly towards the Portuguese than his predecessors, joined the Zamorin. The Nayars, 60,000 in number, laid siege to the fort of Cannanore. They hoped to starve the garrison. The Portuguese were reduced to the greatest straits, and lived on lizards and rats. On the 15th of August, however, the sea cast up shoals of crabs and prawns, which afforded some relief to the besieged. This was regarded as a special mark of heaven's favour. On the 27th of August 1507, de Cunha arrived in Cannanore. The siege was lifted and the Kolattiri sued for peace. The Zamorin,

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13 Maffei-Moore, *History of the Diocese of Mangalore*, Mangalore, Kodyalbail Press, 1905, p. 283.

14 Completed about the year 1518. Translated by Mansel Longworth Dames, Hakluyt Society, 1921, Vol. II, p. 81.

15 On these Martyrs *cf.* Souza Amado, *Historia da Egreja Catolica*, Lisboa, Martinez, 1878, Vol. VII, II Parte, p. 117 sqq. Civezza, *Storia delle Missioni Francescane*, Vol. VI, p. 237. According to D'Sa's *History of the Catholic Church in India*, 1910, Vol. I, p. 83, Xistus and Fr. Francis Gallego were martyred in Cochin. This is against Civezza, who affirms that Fr. Gallego died in the Kunhale Fort. Again, Fr. D'Sa asserts that Fr. Da Guarda, Fr. Stephen and Fr. John da Elvas laid down their lives in Cannanore. *Cf. also* Mullbauer's MSS. Transl. (in Fr. Hosten's possession, Darjeeling), p. 44 sqq.

however, continued hostile. The annual fleets from Portugal continued to bring new Missionaries to India. But the evangelisation of the country was not carried on far away from Portuguese guns; a matter of expedience perhaps, but hardly in accordance with the spirit of Christ. This, however, should not prejudice us against the Missionaries, whose task was threefold in those days. First, they acted as military Chaplains to the Portuguese troops, and thus endeavoured to restrain the unruly elements among the soldiers, and maintained alive the spark of grace in their souls. Second, they ministered to the spiritual needs of the Portuguese who were manning forts and factories. It speaks well of the merchants of those days, who unlike most of their modern successors, did not entirely forget their own spiritual needs among the turmoil of war and commerce, and, besides soldiers and clerks, insisted on being accompanied by Priests as well in their adventurous expeditions. Third, they instructed the Natives who lived near, or in the forts, and who performed menial offices for the Portuguese.

6. The Fort of Kallayi near Calicut

In 1509 Alfonso de Albuquerque was appointed Viceroy. In 1510 he conquered Goa, where he built a fort and a Church. He was a man of genius, and directed all his efforts to consolidate Portugal's power in the East. He favoured marriages between the Portuguese and Indian women, in order to stem the drain of men from his small country. He further desired to put a stop to illegitimate unions and to favour the work of conversion. Strange as it may seem, by this the Portuguese fell in the esteem of the Indians, with the result that conversions were hindered rather than helped.

By an ill-advised attack on the Zamorin's Palace Albuquerque lost 300 men. He then saw that Portugal's true interest lay in peace and a better understanding with the Zamorin. He came to terms with the latter and was allowed to build a fort in the Zamorin's dominions. The northern bank of the Kallayi river was chosen for the purpose, and the architect of Fort Sant' Angelo, Fernandez, began a Fort in 1513. He must have built a Church in it, for in 1516 we read of a Fr. Diego Moraes as Vicar of Calicut. This was a secular priest, who though in smaller numbers than the Religious, had begun to come out to the East.

Soon, however, the Zamorin broke peace with the Portuguese. Don Henrique Menezes, the new Viceroy, destroyed the Zamorin's forts at Ponani and Coulete (Quilandi). Then the Zamorin's army, 12,000 strong, attacked the fort of Kallayi in June 1525. Don Henrique himself arrived with 20 sails and 1,500 men. At day-break he suddenly rushed on the Indians, who, taken by surprise, withdrew, after having lost no less than 3,000 men. The threat of a Turkish Armada from the Red Sea compelled the Portuguese to concentrate their forces northwards. Therefore the fort was abandoned. As soon as the Portuguese had withdrawn, the enemy rushed in to pillage what had been left, when, the powder taking fire, the fort was blown up and many Moors perished. The hatred of the Portuguese on the part of the inhabitants of Calicut went on increasing, making the preaching of the Gospel very difficult.

7. First Contacts of the Thomas Christians with the Portuguese

Having thus described the landing of the Portuguese in India, and their first exploits, let us now revert to the Thomas Christians, and speak of their first relations with the Portuguese.

(*a*) *Interview with Vasco de Gama.*—The author of the voyage to Calcoen (Calicut), who accompanied Vasco de Gama on his second expedition, writes: "On the second day of November, we sailed from Calcoen sixty miles to a kingdom called Kusshain, and between these two towns is a Christian Kingdom called Granor, and there are many good Christians, and in this Kingdom live many Jews and they have a Prince there. You understand that all the Jews of the Country are also subjects of the same Prince. And the Christians have nothing to do with anybody, and they are good Christians. They neither sell nor buy anything during the consecrated days and they neither eat nor drink with anybody but Christians. They willingly came to our ships with fouls and sheep and caused us to make good cheer. They had just sent Priests to the Pope of Rome to know the true faith. ...... On the third of January we sailed thence (*i.e.*, from Kusshain)

for a town which is called Coloon (Quilon), and there came many good Christians and they filled two of our ships with spices; and there are nearly 25,000 Christians and they paid us a tribute like the Jews. There are nearly 300 Christian Churches and they bear the names of the Apostles and other Saints."

Manuel Faria y Sousa, in his *India Portuguesa* describes the interview which Vasco de Gama granted to the Malabar Christians in 1502. He says: "Here (at Cochin) Don Vasco received Ambassadors who said they came from some Christian inhabitants of that neighbouring country, the metropolis thereof was Cranganore, and they were to the number of 30,000, that St. Thomas had preached to their forefathers, that they were subject to the Patriarch of Armenia, that they were infested by the Pagans, that they knew he was an Officer of the most Catholic King of Europe to whom they submitted themselves, delivering into his hands the Rod of Justice. This Rod was red, about the length of a Sceptre, ends tipt with silver, with three bells at the top. They were despatched with hopes of a powerful assistance."

(b) *In* 1503, *Affonso de Albuquerque,* invited by the Rani of Kullam (Quilon) had a meeting with her, where, in the agreements reached, a special statement was made as to the Thomas Christians, who continued to retain their civil and criminal administration, but the executive powers were handed over to the Portuguese Feytor Antonio de Sa, to whom Albuquerque recommended the Church which was said to have been built by Mar Proudh and Mar Xabra (later on called N. S. de Misericordia). Since many Christians were not yet baptised, he entrusted them to the Dominican Rodrigo Thoman.[16] But when later on the Portuguese "wanted to force them to eat fish on fasting days and to commence Lent on Ash Wednesday and did not allow their Priests to consecrate leavened bread in the Mass, they went back to the mountains to live with the Hindus".[17]

(c) *In* 1504, *Suarez de Menezes* captured Cranganore and ordered it to be burnt. The work of destruction had begun,

16 *Com de Albuq.*, I.C., 5, 19.
17 *Sousa, Or. Conq.*, p. 70.

when some Christians of the place came and entreated him to desist representing that within the city were several Churches dedicated to the Virgin and the Apostles which would be destroyed.[18] The conflagration was stopped.

The first contacts between the Portuguese and the Malabar Christians were, therefore, friendly. They felt that they belonged to the same Law, and so they trusted each other. In fact, their mutual knowledge was very scanty, so much so that the Portuguese of this time thought that India was a Christian country, and were confirmed in this by the fact that the Pagans came to venerate the holy pictures on board their ships. At the end of his ROTEIRO Vasco de Gama names the Kings of Calicut, Quorungulis (?) Chomandrala (Coromandel), Ceylon, Jarmus (Siam), Pegu and others as Christian. Cabral had already more correct views. It is only about Cranganore that he affirms the existence of Christians. The Kings of Calicut, Narasinga and Cochin are described as Pagans.

8. CHALDAEAN BISHOPS IN MALABAR

The Malabar Christians, who, as has been remarked elsewhere received their Bishops from Mesopotamia, had been without Prelates for many years. In 1490, they sent a deputation to the Catholicos MAR SIMEON, asking him to send them some Bishops.

This Mar Simeon belonged to the powerful house of Mama. During his long Patriarchate he had managed to secure the Patriarchal succession for his own family, in spite of all the Ecclesiastical Canons. He was a Nestorian. What he did for Malabar will be clear from a letter which the Chaldean Bishops addressed to his successor in the year 1504. The letter with an historical introduction has been preserved in the Vatican Library and was edited by Assemani in 1725. It has been re-edited by Fr. G. Schurhammer, S.J., and published in India by the Rev. Fr. Placid, T.O.C.D. We shall reproduce it in the notes at the end of the Chapter.

Here we may recall that Joseph Indus belonged to the Malayalee deputation to Mesopotamia. He was ordained

18 *Cf.* J. C. PANJIKARAN, *The Syr. Church in Malabar*, p. 39.

Priest there, and came back to India with Bishops Mar Thomas and Mar John.

They were received with great festivities, for there had been a long break in the Malabar Episcopate. Later on Mar Thomas returned to Mesopotamia, while Mar John remained in India.

In 1503 Mar Jaballaha, Mar Denha and Mar Jacob were ordained Bishops in the territory of Gazartha Bet Zabdai, and left for India.

From India they wrote to the Catholicos Mar Elias, telling him how they found in Malabar about 30,000 Christian Families "meek and peaceful". They were thinking of restoring the Church of St. Thomas, which is "in Mailapur in the Province of Silan". Speaking of Calicut, they make no mention of Christians there, but they inform Mar Elias of the arrival of the Portuguese, and of the troubles which were stirred up by the Moors against the new comers. Seventy Portuguese were killed in the turmoil, together with five Priests. The Portuguese then sailed to Cochin, made an alliance with the Rajah, and built a strong Fortress.

While travelling to India these Chaldean Bishops stopped in Cannanore, where they found about twenty Portuguese. They were received by them "with the greatest joy", were given gold and beautiful vestments. They remained there two months and were invited to celebrate the Holy mysteries in the Chapel, where the Portuguese "Priests offer daily the Holy Sacrifice, for this is their custom and rite". On Sunday Nosardel, after the Portuguese had finished, they too celebrated the Holy Sacrifice with mutual joy and edification. Then they proceeded to Malabar.

Of the activities of the Chaldaean Bishops in India we know little. In 1510 Albuquerque gives them 1,000 fanams for the restoration of their Church in Cranganore. In 1506, the Portuguese Governor, Lopo Soares, concludes a treaty with Quilon, in which he obliges its Queen to rebuild the Church of the Thomas Christians and restore their ancient rights to them. In 1517 we see the Portuguese together with their friends the Thomas Christians going on a pilgrimage to the tomb of the Apostle St. Thomas in Mylapore and settling

down there in the shadow of his Church, which is restored by order of the King of Portugal.

Mar John, whom the other Bishops found "still" alive in 1503, seems to have died soon after that date. Two of the new comers, Mar Jaballaha and Mar Denha, died soon after their arrival in India.

The last of the Bishops was Mar Jacob. Of him, we have two letters to King John III of Portugal from which we learn that the relations between Portuguese and Thomas Christians, which at the beginning were very cordial, became strained. The first reason was economic. The Portuguese were endeavouring to establish the pepper monopoly in Malabar. For this purpose they needed the collaboration of the Thomas Christians. But the Moors were on the alert. This induced the Christians to sell the pepper to them, thus baulking the Portuguese in their design.

Mar Jacob informs the King that he has done all in his power to induce the Christians "never more to sell the pepper to the Moors, but to be kind to the Portuguese". In fact, he affirms that "he has won all the Christians of the Country to the King's service, so that when the King shall be in need of them, he shall find over 25,000 warriors".[19]

The second reason why the relations between the Thomas Christians and the Portuguese became strained was religious.

The Portuguese soon noticed the different rites of the Thomas Christians, and, being ignorant of Eastern customs, tried to interfere with them. The Syrians resisted, and were right. Next, some priests went further, and began to doubt the validity of the Baptism administered by the Cassanars, or Syrian Priests. Mar Jacob, in his letter to the King, defends his Priests and himself. Among the Portuguese Priests, one Alvare Penteado was most determined to reduce the Thomas Christians to the usages of Rome. In a letter Sob. Pirez, Vicar-General of India to the King (1527), he is described as "having a hard head and a very hot temper. .... Therefore the Christians are very little satisfied with him". In another letter of Fr. Vicente de Laguna, O.P. to the King (1530) the same Penteado is said "to know very little and to be very

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[19] See Notes, Letters of Mar Jacob to John III.

dissolute". And yet he wanted to reform the Christians. Therefore, as Joao Garces writes to the King (2, January 1529) "*The Christians think that all he says are lies, and they rather believe their Bishops who came from Armenia*". Thus a strong prejudice arises against the Portuguese, a prejudice, fanned by the Cassanars who feared Portuguese reforms. For reforms were certainly needed in Malabar. Simony was rampant, ignorance, both among the Clergy and the Laity appalling. Many Priests were married; many lived in concubinage. Several carried on commerce. A good number served as soldiers with Pagan Rajahs. Their Churches were poor, neglected, dirty. It was the same in many countries of Europe before the Council of Trent. The letters of Jesuits who worked in Italy, in France, in Germany, speak of the ignorance of the Priests, who sometimes did not even know the formula of absolution. They describe the corruption of morals, the degradation of divine worship.

But in Malabar there was something more. The faith of the people was not pure. In 1550 a Latin Malabarian Priest, Matheus Diaz by name, writes to the King (22nd Jan. 1550): "On this coast there are many St. Thomas Christians who formerly had the Patriarchs of Babylon as their Prelates to instruct them in the Catholic faith which they did, not without some errors. Among other things they ordained the natives, but without permission to say Mass. And now there are here two from the said Babylonia, who first did all after the manner of Babylon, until Your Highness sent Fr. Penteado, who with much diligence and zeal brought the said two Babylonians to the obedience of the Holy Mother the Church and obtained for them a salary from Your Highness, and now they no longer do anything after the Babylonian custom and they are very honest and obedient towards the Holy Mother the Church. One, however, of these, ordained by one of the Babylonians above mentioned, is going about teaching these St. Thomas Christians the Babylonian custom without fear of God or Holy Mother the Church, nor has he the permission of his Babylonian Prelates, and he has already created much confusion among them."[20]

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[20] *Cf.* Schurhammer, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-22.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

[1] *Cf.* The rare pamphlet "*The Fourth Centenary of Vasco de Gama's Landing at Calicut*" celebrated on the 25th of May 1898 at Calicut. Fr. Maffei, S.J., follows Gasper Correa, who came out to India about 1512, and had at his disposal the diaries written by those who had accompanied Vasco de Gama in his first journey. He remained a long time in India, and left after him a very accurate description of the three voyages of Vasco de Gama in his *Lendas da India*. The book was edited long after his death and published in English by Stanley in 1869. Sinclair (*Indian History*), Hunter (*Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. VI), Chambers (*Encyclopædia*) and the *British Encyclopædia* give May as the month of Gama's landing at Calicut. Logan in his *Manual of Malabar*, *The Bombay Gazetteer* (Article *Canara*), Danvers (*Portuguese India*) agree with Correa and put down August as the date of Vasco de Gama's arrival.

What is far more important is what we read in the translation of a *History of the Portuguese Landing in India*, written on the leaves of the Brab tree or *Ola*, in Malayalam, the original of which was obtained from the Venkatikkota Raja who is of the Tamori, *i.e.*, of the Zamorin family. These are the words: "The history of the Firingis coming into Malabar, in the year of the Taliha (*i.e.*, Hegira) 904, or the 6th of Karkadom 672 (Malabar era). Three Firingi ships came to Pandaram Kollam. It being in the monsoon they anchored here and came on shore. They went to Korikote where they learned all the news of Malabar. At this time they did not trade but returned again to their own country, Portugal. Two years afterwards they returned from Portugal with six ships and came to Korikote." The first landing took place during the monsoon. It was in the month of Karkadom, which corresponds to July-August. Still more weighty is the evidence which we gather from an old MSS. document, the original of which is with the Zamorin. It is a kind of diary, and under the years 1497-98 it has the following: "1497, *Manam Gama Bilam Nagratil ninnu purapattu*—Gama left the town of Belem, March 1497. 1498, *Cingam*, 26 *tiady*: *Malayalate Ely malaye adyam kandu*—Gama first saw Mount Ely on the 26th August 1498.

[2] It is not certain when the martyrdom of Fr. de Covilham took place. Mulbauer assigns to it the year 1498. Was it before, or after Vasco had left Calicut? If before, how is it not mentioned in Vasco's *Roteiro*, and by the earliest Historians? If after, how have the details come down to us? Was it some Thomas Christians who witnessed the death and related it later on to the Portuguese? Danvers (p. 84) relates that when Gama came again to Calicut, he was met on board ship by a Brahmin, dressed in a Friar's habit. Was it the habit of Fr. de Covilham or of one of the Franciscans killed in the insurrection of 1500?

As to the prophecy, besides the authors mentioned in the text, it is recorded in *Jeronimo de S. Jose Chron. de Ord. da SS. Trinidad da Prov. de Portugal*, I, 308, *in Bernardino de S. Antonio, Epitome Redemptionum ab Ordine SS. Trin*, lib. i.c. 12. But these authors are later than the Apostolate of St. Francis Xavier in India.

3 *Historical Introduction* (written in 1533).

"Trusting in the help of God, the Lord of the Universe, we are writing the history of the blessed Indians and about their arrival in the town of Gazarta Bet Zabdai.

In the year of Alexander, 1801 (1490 A.D.), there came three trustworthy Christian men from the remote regions of India to Mar Simeon, the Catholic Patriarch of the Orient, to ask for fathers (ahabata) and take them there with them. One of them died on the way according to the will of the Creator. The two others came safely to the Mar Catholicos, who then was living in the town Gazarta Bet Zabdai, and they were received by him with the greatest joy. One of them was called George, and the other one Joseph. Both of them were ordained Priests in the Holy Church of St. George in Gazarta by the Mar Catholicos; for they were fairly well instructed. Soon afterwards they were sent to the holy dwelling of the Blessed Eugenius. Whence they brought with them two monks of the same name, for both were called Rabban Joseph, whom the Mar Catholicos ordained Bishops in the Church of St. George. One of them he called Thomas, the other one John. And he gave them wonderful patent letters and others with his signature and sealed with his ring and dismissed them with prayers and blessings and told them to go with the Indians to the countries of India.

When these same four came there with the help of Christ our Lord, they were received by the faithful with great joy, and they went to meet them with joy carrying before them the book of the Gospel, the Cross, censers and torches and they introduced them with great pomp and with the chanting of psalms and hymns. And they, the Bishops, consecrated altars and ordained very many Priests, for they had been without Fathers for a long time.

Mar John remained as Bishop of India, but Mar Thomas, his companion, soon afterwards returned to the Catholicos and brought him first fruits and offerings and a servant.

But it happened that before the return of Bishop Mar Thomas to India the Catholicos Mar Simeon died and migrated from this temporary and transient life to that lasting and immortal dwelling in the year of the Greeks 1813 (1502 A.D.), and was buried in the monastery of the holy and blessed Eugenius. May the Lord give rest to his soul in the dwellings of the heavenly Kingdom. Amen! Then followed him as Catholic Patriarch, Elias, who also brought with him three well approved monks from the monastery of Eugenius.

The first of these was Raban David, surnamed 'the long', whom he ordained Metropolitan, calling him Mar Jaballaha. The name of the second was Raban George, whom he ordained Bishop calling him Mar Denha. The last was Raban Musud, whom he also ordained Bishop, calling him Mar Jacob. All these he ordained in the monastery of St. John the Egyptian, the brother of St. Acha, in the territory of Gazzarta Bet Zabdai in the year of the Greeks, 1814 (1503 A.D.).

Soon afterwards he told these four Fathers to go to the countries of India and the islands of the sea that are between Dabag and Sin and Masin. And with the help of Christ their Lord, they came there and found Mar John, the Bishop of India, still alive, and he, together with the other Blessed Brethren living there, were extremely glad at their arrival.

The year following, they sent a letter to the Catholicos, Mar Elias, who, however, did not get it, for he died before and was buried in the Church of Meskinta in the town of Mossul. Then followed him as Catholic Patriarch Mar Simeon. And the letter written by the said Fathers from India was thus:

Letter sent by the Fathers of India, Sin and Masin.

"To the other Simeon, the Papas of our days, the Timothy of our century, and the Jesus, the son of Nun, of our time and the Jesujab of our epoch, to whom has been given power in heaven and on earth to feed the flock of Christ with the staff of Peter, which was handed over to him in the course of time (blessed man, to whom was given the fortune of having such a superior and leader), to Mar Elias, the Catholic Patriarch of the Orient, the mother of the world, whom may the Lord confirm, lift up, exalt, glorify and strengthen to the glory of the Christian religion and the exaltation of the Church. Amen! Your humble servants and inperfect, Mar Jaballaha and Mar Thomas and Mar Jacob and the stranger Denha, contemptible and weak, worship the footstool of your pure and sacred feet and ask for help in their tribulation through your acceptable and efficacious prayers and say with loud voice and obsecration, "Bless O Lord! Bless O Lord!"

May also John, the tabernacle of God and treasurer of his service, the Saint and prince of the Saints, the Metropolitan Bishop of Atel, and all the holy Fathers and approved Monks and pure priests and immaculate deacons and select faithful and all the Christians there living accept our salutation in the Lord!

Now we inform your worshipful charity, that through the help of God and your acceptable prayers we came safely and happily to the blessed country of India through the virtue of divine grace. We thank God, the Lord of the Universe, who does not put to shame those who are trusting in Him.

Here we were received by all the Christians with the greatest rejoicings. And our Father, the holy Mar John, is still living and well and sends you many greetings. Here there are about

30,000 Christian families of the same faith with us, and they are praying to the Lord that He may preserve you in safety.

And they began to build other Churches and they have abundance of all things and they are meek and peaceful. Blessed be the Lord!

But also the House of the holy Apostle Thomas has begun to be inhabited by some Christians who are thinking of its restoration. But it lies at a distance of about 25 days' journey from the said Christians, and it lies on the seashore in a town called Mailapur in the province of Silan, which is one of the provinces of India. For also the countries in India are many and powerful, comprising a territory of half a year's journey and each country has its own name.

Our country, where our Christians are living, is called Malabar and it has about twenty towns, of which three are famous and strong; Crangol, Palor and Colam to which come others in their neighbourhood.

And, in all there are Christians living with Churches built in them. And near them is the great and rich town of Calicut, where idolators are living.

May you also know, Fathers, that from the Occident powerful ships have been sent to these countries of India by the King of the Christians, who are our brethren, the Franks. Their voyage took them a whole year, and they sailed towards the south and circumnavigated Kush, which is called Habesh. From there, they came to this country of India, purchased pepper and other merchandises and returned to their land.

By this way thus explored, the said King (whom may God preserve in safety) sent six other huge ships, with which they crossed the sea in half a year and came to the town of Calicut, people extremely well versed in nautical science.

In Calicut, there are living many Ismaelites, who, moved by their inveterate hatred against the Christians, began to calumniate them to the Pagan King saying "Those people came from the West and they were well pleased with the town and the country. Therefore, they will now return to their King as soon as possible, and will come again, bringing with their ships huge armies against you and they will press on you and take your country from you."

The Pagan King believed the words of the Ismaelites and followed their advice and went out like a mad man and killed all the said Franks, whom they found in the town, seventy men and five worthy priests, who accompanied them, for they are not wont to travel or to go to any place without Priests.

The other ones who were in the ship weighed anchor and sailed away with great sadness and bitter tears and came to our neighbouring Christians to the town of Cochin. This town too had a Pagan King, who, when he saw them in heavy distress and grief, received them hospitably and consoled them and swore never to abandon them until death.

The godless King, however, who had killed their companions, when he heard of that, became enraged, collected a huge army and attacked them. So the Franks, together with the King, to whom they had fled, were forced to retire to a very strong fortification on the seashore, where they remained a few days. Then only did Christ have mercy on them and there came very many ships from the countries of those Franks and they began a very great war against the King of Calicut and from their war-engines (guns), which they brought with them, they threw huge stones on his troops and killed very many men of the army of the godless King and expelled him and his troops from the seashore.

From there, the Franks sailed to the town of Coshi and there they built a huge fortress and strengthened it with a garrison of 300 men, warlike men of the people, out of which some were to throw stones from the war-engines, and others were to shoot arrows with iron bows. To this they added 50 huge war-engines and about 100 smaller ones and iron bows (cross-bows).

In the meantime, the King, their enemy (may his memory perish), returned and began to fight with them. But soon he was defeated by the Christians in battle by the help of Christ and lost 3,000 of his men, torn to pieces by the war-engines, and he fled to his town, Calicut. And the Franks pursued and followed him by sea (for his town lies on the seashore) and overtook him, and captured his ships and broke them to pieces and killed the Ismaelite sailors, whom they found in them, about 100, and devastated the town with their guns.

The leader of the said Franks came to another town called Cananor in the same country of Malabar with another infidel King and besought him "Give us a place in your town, where we can buy and sell when we return for traffic year by year". And he gave them a place and a spacious house and received them gladly and treated them very well. And the Christian leader gave him vestments of gold *phutka* (brocade), that is, scarlet garments. Soon he bought 14,000 tagar of pepper and sailed away to his country.

Of his people, there are about twenty living in the town of Cananor. When we started from the town of Hormizda (Ormuz) and came to this town of the Indians, Cananor, we made them understand, that we were Christians and indicated them our condition. We were received by them with the greatest joy and they gave us beautiful vestments and twenty gold dracmas and honoured our pilgrimage exceedingly for Christ's sake.

We remained with them two and a half months and they told us that we also should on a certain day celebrate the Holy Mysteries, that is to say, offer the Holy Sacrifice. And they destined for it a beautiful place fit for prayer, wherein there was a kind

of oratory. Their Priests offer daily the Holy Sacrifice, for this is their custom and rite.

Therefore, on Sunday Nosardel, after their Priests had celebrated, we also were admitted and celebrated the Holy Sacrifice, and it was pleasing in their eyes.

Sailing from there, we went to our Christians, who are distant from there, an eight days' voyage. The number of the said Franks is estimated to about 400 men. And the fear and dread of them fell on all infidels and Ismaelites of these countries. The country of these Franks is called Portkal, one of the countries of the Franks, and their King is called Emmanuel. We beseech Emmanuel that He may conserve him.

Brethren, do not complain that we have extended this letter too much! We only wished and tried to inform Your Highness about these things. And the Lord be with us all. Amen!

This letter was composed and sent from the country of India in the year of the Greeks 1815 (1504 A.D.). But to God be the glory and the honour and the thanksgiving and the adoration, now and for ever and in all eternity. Amen!

Herewith finishes the letter, and to our Lord be praise and upon us His mercies in eternity!"

(a) *Mar Jacob to John III of Portugal, Cochin Ca.* 1523.

"Most High King and Lord,

Jacome Abuna, Armenian Priest, who rules over the so-called Quilon Christians in India, knows that the fear of God is being kept in thy Kingdom and grace given by God which may illumine thee, and I pray to God with earnest desire, that He may, after a long life, give thee in payment the eternal glory.

Whereas I hope with thy help to increase the faith in this people of the Indians, which I rule in the things of God, for which I have been deputed and sent by the Patriarch of Babylon, I went to let thee know the things, wherein I have served thee so far, in order to oblige and move thee with and by them, that thou mayst help me to increase the faith in this people for the service of thy Redeemer and mine.

It may be four years since a Father, Master Joam Caro, came to this country. From him I received many instructions for my salvation and that of this my people and also about the things of thy service. One of the things of thy service, which he taught me, was that the Christians whom I am ruling, got all the pepper from the hands of the farmers who collect it and that they dared not bring it to thy factory for fear, which the Moors instilled into them, telling them falsehoods and deceit, that they were giving underweight in the scales and were paying for it very badly and were beating and treating them like slaves, and that thy Portuguese, when they saw their pepper, would rob them and make them prisoners and send them to Portugal, and this the Moors

proved by some bad Christians, who enjoyed favour with them in the trade. And as they so omitted to bring it, they necessarily had to sell it to the Moors, who then were alone dealing in this traffic and so the Moors had power and reason to sell it dirty and full of water. For, as thy ships had necessarily to take their cargo, they took what they gave them, as there was here no way to remedy this inconvenience. Also that there were some Christians here, who did the same wrong, learning from the Moors, and that this was a great evil, which not only did harm to thee, but to Christianity in general, to which thou from there givest many alms and puttest thy kingdom throughout the whole world in great honour.

And whereas this harm came, because my Christians were so deceived by the Moors and because they were selling it to these very Moors and because some were already bringing it dirty and full of water as they saw the Moors doing, as we are all Christians and of the same law, so they begged me much, that I might put a remedy to this by getting the Christians to come to thy fortress to treat with the Portuguese in order that they might see how they were deceived by the Moors, and I might order them in future never more to sell any pepper to the Moors, for it was better if the Christians themselves gained what the Moors were gaining. So I ordered that they should not suffer the Christians to bring it to thy factory dirty and with water, as some were wont to do before, as that was such a loss and little service to God.

On seeing that the said Father was telling me the truth, I went at once through all the villages of the Christians and, as they bade me, so I put it at once into practice. And it pleased God to remedy all, for I took my Christians to thy fortress of Cochin to speak with the Portuguese and they were so well received by the Vedor de Fezenda Pero Nunez and the Factor, Manuel Botehlo, and the nobleman, Diogo Pereira and others also, who serve thee in these parts that, when they returned to their houses, they went very satisfied talking amongst themselves how the Moors in passed times had been deceiving them so shamefully.

And this I did many times until I had brought them to love thee, and then they agreed and swore to me, never more to sell the pepper to the Moors and to bring it clean and dry to thy factory, as they indeed are doing, as thou canst see by the shrinkage, which thou shalt see in that of this and the last two years. And further I have won all these Christians of this country for thy service, so that when thou shalt be in need of them, thou shalt find in it over 25,000 warriors.

This, Lord, is the service, which I have done thee in these parts with the intention to move thee to help me to increase this people throughout this India in the faith of Jesus Christ, Our Redeemer. And now it is necessary more than ever, for, because I served thee

as I have said, the Moors have robbed and killed my many people and also burnt our houses and Churches, by which we are much distressed and disgraced.

And that Thy Highness may help us the more with just reasons, I make known unto thee, that it is already a long time since these Quilon Christians bought with their money a big piece of land in Cranganore with power to pronounce sentence of death and all the other rights, which the then ruling King had in it, of which we have a copper-plate sealed with his seal. This land is now usurped by many Lords. Therefore I beseech thee, order the Viceroy by a letter from thee, get it restored to us, that the Christians in it may be won more for thy service. And he shall also forbid the pepper that goes to Calicut to leave the country. And thou couldst also have scales in it, whither most of the pepper will come, and so thou shalt avoid the taxes, which thou payest to the King of Cochin, over 7,000 Cruzados every year. And that this may be done better and your property be safe, thou canst get a tower or fortress made there, as thou shalt find it better for thy service. And in this case give good advice, for the advice I give thee is for thy profit and safer for thee. Only I ask thee, order that this land be restored to us, and to thy Viceroy, that he favour and guard us. For if thou wilt do this, thou shalt always have from these Christians and myself this service, of which I spoke safe. And see, that I advise thee a thing, which becomes thee very much, for if thou dost not command what I write then it can happen, that these Christians get dissatisfied with thee, and so shalt thou never obtain pepper otherwise than dirty and full of water.

Thou hast sent me a letter from the king thy father—God rest his soul—that I might take it as thine. Alvaro Penteado, whom thou hast sent for this purpose, brought it to me. Therein was said, that thou orderest the favour of 20 Milreis to be given me yearly and as maintenance, what thy Priests had in India. And further thou tellest me that I should allow Alvaro Penteado's baptizing the Christians of the country. If thou doest this, because thou thinkest, that I baptize in a manner different from that, which Jesus Christ gave in the Gospel, and some so informed thee, then mayest thou be informed by Father Master Joam Caro, how thou has been deceived in this. Do not think that I am so silly and know so little of the Law, that I do not know the Holy Scripture old and new as far as concerns this matter of baptizing, though it be true, that I am not instructed in the usages of the Popes and in the Roman usage. And if thou in spite of that shouldest order me to allow the said Alvaro Penteado to baptize with the other Fathers, I shall let them do so. But it seems to me, thou shalt lose the friendship of these Christians, for they esteem me very much and do not want anybody else to baptize them as long as I am alive. But in the meantime I shall take them with me, until I get thy answer, that the Christians may

get acquainted with them; and the said Fathers shall in the meantime instruct them in the things of the faith, and I shall introduce them that they after my death may receive them in my place, and so one and the other thing shall be remedied according to the service of God, to whom I recommend thee."

What follows below was written by the Father in Chaldean, wherein he testifies as true, what he says above.

This letter is from the humble Jacob called "Bishop of India". Master Joam wrote these words.

Address: "To the King our Lord".

(b) *Mar Jacob to John III of Portugal. Cochin, 16th December* 1530.

"I, Jacombe Abuna, kiss the hands of Your Highness. Here they gave me a letter from you, which gave me much consolation, as I saw from it, that you think of me and also of these Christians of the country. You recommend them to me, that I should work for them. God knows my will that it is good for it, and as regards the work, I am writing in it as much as I can as Your Highness may learn from Alfonso Mexias, who has helped me well, as he is a friend of the service of God and that of Your Highness. Also the fathers of Saint Francis help me well. For the Father Commissary went with me there two or three times and we brought forth much fruit, for we baptized 266 souls and, besides, people were married at the door of the Church and we brought much pepper. And this journey to that place is very arduous, for we go through enemies land in whose power and land they dwell, and they (the enemies) favour some, who are hard of heart, and others that have good will to go over to the usage of the Church of Rome, but have not the courage to do it for fear of them as one of the Friars who go there (to Portugal) can tell you, who was there with the Commissary. He can also tell you the goodwill he found amongst the people, so that with the help of God and that of Your Highness we shall make progress. And I don't take Father Alvaro Penteado there, for I don't dare to do so for fear of the people, who are not very satisfied with him. Here I rendered account to the Governor of Your Highness, as you ordered me, about the Church and Christians of Cranganore. He writes to Your Highness. May Your Highness think of it. And further I brought, with the advice of the Governor, seven boys to Cochin, who read well and have good beginnings and desires. Written in Cochin, the 17th of December 1530.

I kiss the hands of Your Highness."

JACOB called 'BISHOP'

CHAPTER III

CONVERSION OF THE PARAVARS

THE COMING OF THE JESUITS

St. Francis Xavier

(1535–1552)

1. Ecclesiastical Organisation

At the time of Vasco de Gama's arrival in Calicut, the "Christus Order", with Thomar as its principal See, had the spiritual jurisdiction over all the countries that were to be discovered by the Portuguese. Thus India came automatically under it. Pope Leo X, by a Bull of 12 June 1514, suppressed the Vicariate of Thomar, and instituted the Diocese of Funchal in Madeira. Diego Pinheiro, the last of the Thomar Bishops, was nominated first Bishop of this See. The right of nomination of the Bishops of Funchal was granted to the Kings of Portugal. The new Bishop sent his Vicars to India. Thus in 1514 there was already a Vicar, Alfonso, in Cannanore. In 1516 a Diego Moraes was Vicar of Calicut (Kallayi). Meanwhile, a Dominican, Durante Nunes, Bishop of Laodicea in *partibus inf.* came to India in 1514 to consecrate clerics, chalices, altar-stones and holy oils; but as he found the harvest field as yet unripe and all the ecclesiastical institutions without coherence, he returned to Portugal in 1517, and died there in 1527. In 1518 Andreas Torquemada, Bishop Dumensis, a Franciscan, started for India. He seems to have reached only in 1522. It was probably under his rule that a Mission was established in Mangalore by the Franciscans coming from Goa. Three Churches were soon erected, and dedicated to Our Lady of the Rosary, Our Lady of Mercy and St. Francis. In 1532, as Bishop Delegate of the Bishop of Funchal, nominated by Joao III and approved by Clement VII, Fernando Vacqueiro, Bishop of Aureliopolis, a Reformed Franciscan, came out to India. He proved to be a truly Apostolic man, administering Confirmation, and Holy Orders, and trying his best to improve the morals of the Portuguese. He was recalled by the King on account of old age, and died in Ormuz in March 1535.

At the beginning of 1533 Clement VII, by the bull *Romani Pontificis Circumspectio,* raised Funchal to an Archdiocese, and Paul III, by the Constitution *Aequum Reputamus* of November 3rd, 1534, made Goa its Suffragan, giving it jurisdiction from the Cape of Goodhope to China. The right of presentation for all dignities and benefices in the Diocese was granted to the King of Portugal, under the condition that he would maintain the Churches and Convents of the Diocese, procure the vestments, erect new Churches, pay proper stipends to all the Ecclesiastics, so that they might live in decent comfort. The first Bishop of Goa, nominated by the King, and confirmed by Paul III on April 22nd, 1537, was Joao Albuquerque, a Reformed Franciscan. He started for Goa with another member of his Order, Fr. Vincente de Lagos, who will zealously work for the conversion of the Rajah of Tanur, and for the Thomas Christians.

Naturally, the jurisdiction of the new Bishop was very vague, first because the Diocese had practically no limits; second because Rome had taken no notice of the Thomas Christians; thirdly because the King reserved to himself the right to appoint Missionaries, and give them jurisdiction independently of the Bishop of Goa.

The Portuguese rapidly spread along the coast of the Indian Peninsula, they entered Ceylon, they reached Malacca, the Moluccas and even Japan. Priests and Religious accompanied them everywhere. The Religious claimed exemption by law, the Priests, owing to the enormous distances and the lack of organization, had it *de facto.* So the power of the Archbishop of Goa was felt in the countries near Goa. Elsewhere it was but a shadow.

Bishop Joao died in February 1553, and from that year till 1557 no new Pastor was appointed. In 1557 Goa was raised to the status of Archdiocese.

During the vacancy a Vicar Capitular ruled the Diocese.

2. Don Joao da Cruz and the Conversion of the Paravars or Bharathars (1)

After the death of Don Henrique de Menezes (1526), the acting Viceroy, Lopo Vaz de Sampayo, sent a force against some ships belonging to the Zamorin, which were in Cannanore.

Later on (1529) the new Viceroy determined to crush the Ruler of Calicut, who always opposed Portuguese expansion and commerce. He ordered 30 sails under Diogo da Silveira to scour the Coast of Malabar. This fleet caused such devastation that the Zamorin sued for peace, which the Viceroy refused. Da Silveira captured no less than 27 Indian vessels during the blockade. He suggested that a fortress should be built at the mouth of the Beypoor river at Chaliyam. In 1531 a successful intrigue with the Raja of Tanur, who owned the territory around Chaliyam enabled the Portuguese to erect the fort, which they had planned. The fort was completed in 1532. It contained houses for 120 men and a Church. The Governor called it Santa Maria do Castello, appointed Diogo Pereira Captain, and Manoel de Sousa was ordered to protect it from the sea with 22 ships. The naval warfare continued, with heavy losses on both sides. Of course no conversions took place in the circumstances. But though there were no conversions in Calicut, God deigned to open the door to Christianity elsewhere, through the instrumentality of a Calicut man. We shall condense the account, as written in the *Archivum Historicum* Soc. *Jesu* (July 1935) by Fr. Schurhammer, S.J. Joao da Cruz, God's chosen instrument to prepare for the conversion of the Paravars on the Fishery Coast, was a Chetty, born in Calicut. In 1513, Joao, still a boy fifteen years old, had been sent to Lisbon by the Zamorin, and had been received by King Manoel very honourably and baptised under the above-mentioned name. In 1515 he was raised to the knighthood with the insignia and privileges of a knight of the Order of Christ. In that very year he came back to Calicut. Dismissed from the Zamorin's court, owing to his conversion to Christianity, he turned to trade, but experienced reverse upon reverse. The loss of ships at sea indebted him to the Royal Factory. As the fortress of Chaliyam was besieged, he took boat for Cochin with his wife and children, was shipwrecked and just escaped with his life. The Portuguese functionaries treated him badly and the commandant of Cochin went so far as to imprison him on account of his debts. Da Cruz then escaped inland and came back with a safe conduct of the Vedor, Pero Vaz, to Cochin. From there he wrote to King John III (December 1533) and described his sad plight.

At the end of 1535 da Cruz got an answer from Lisbon. Portuguese officials were ordered not to worry him on account of his debts for the next two years. Apparently leave was also given him for the importation of horses, since we find him on the way to Cape Comorin with a dozen of them. We still possess the account he wrote (15th December 1537) of that journey and of what had happened in the two past years. It is the story of the conversion of the Bharathars. A squabble had broken out between the *Paravars* or *Bharathars* and the Muslims on the Fishery Coast. The Muslims had insulted a woman and cut off her husband's ear-lobe. The Paravars, infuriated, rose up against the Mahomedans, who sought the help of the Hindus. In fact, they even obtained a promise from the Hindu rulers not to let one Paravan escape alive. They offered five fanams for every head brought to them; and it was only when they lowered the price to one fanam (so great had been the slaughter) that the Hindus, dissatisfied, stopped the massacre. It is in those terrible circumstances that we have to place D' Cruz's intervention in favour of the decimated caste. He spoke to them of the might and power of the Portuguese, how they had waged successful war against the Zamorin of Calicut, and the Muslims, his Allies, how easy it was for the Paravars to get Portuguese help, provided only they would follow the Portuguese law. Thus, coming under the protection of the Portuguese, they could peacefully carry on pearl fishing, and they would probably be freed from the tribute they were paying to the Nayackers of Madura.

Thus fifteen *pattankattis* were sent to Cochin to receive baptism. However, the Portuguese Captain, Pero Vaz de Amaral (in charge since 1532), to make sure that the whole caste was ready to join the Faith, made 70 more of their prominent people come to Cochin to endorse the decision.

In the meanwhile, the Moslems getting wind of the negotiations and fearing that their prey and the pearl fishing would escape them, dispatched two envoys to Cochin in order to bribe Pero de Vaz not to allow the baptism of the Paravars. But in vain. "Heaps of gold", answered the Captain, "would never make him desist from his purpose." He then had 85 Paravars baptised by the Vicar-General, Miguel Vaz, who was just at the time in Cochin (probably December 1535) and he

put at their disposal a fleet which, with the Vicar of Cochin and four Priests along with the neophytes, sailed to the rescue. Within a short time the Moslems had got the deserved punishment and the Bharathars were once more put in possession of their pearl-fishing rights. About 20,000 of them in 30 places, were baptised. The men were baptised in camp, probably in March and April 1536, the women and children and old people in their homes (May to October) and the people of Tuticorin, Vaippar and Vembar later on. "And that is how", concludes Teixeira, "Our Lord saved so many souls by means of one torn ear-lobe."

3. Sequel to the Conversion

What were the results of this conversion? We may notice two important ones: first, the breaking up of the Moslem power on the Fishery Coast; secondly, the advent of the Jesuit Missionaries to India.

(*a*) *The breaking up of the Mahomedan Power on the Fishery Coast.*—The Mahomedans made a last desperate attempt to restore their influence on the southern coast and get back the pearl trade. To achieve this they had to take possession of Ceylon, where Mayadunne called them to the rescue against Portugal and Kotte. The whole monsoon was passed in equipping ships for the fray. At the end of 1537 three chief Captains of the Zamorin; Pate Marakkar, Cunhale Marakkar and Ali Ibrahim Marakkar sailed with fifty large, heavily equipped war-proas and 2,000 crew, one thousand of them being arquebusiers, to the Fishery Coast; they raided the Christian villages, seized their boats and, in the absence of the Portuguese Captain, plundered and burned down Tuticorin, killing or capturing a number of the converts. Then they entrenched themselves in a palm-grove of Vedalai, between Killakkarai and the pagoda of Rameswaram, near the narrowest pass of the Pamban Straits, drew their ships ashore and prepared to sail for Ceylon. By levying troops among Moslems and Hindus, Pate Marakkar increased the strength of his army to 7,000 men and boasted he would carry war into Ceylon till the Rumes (Turks) would come to Diu, whither they had been called at a great price by Sultan Bahadur. Then all the Moslems of India would combine with the

Turkish fleet and with that of the King of Cambay. With the help of other Indian rulers, they would take all the strong places of the infidels (Portuguese), and the Great Turk would conquer India and kill the Portuguese. This time, so concluded Pate Marakkar, the revenues of the pearl-fishery, due in March, would not escape him.

Martin Alphonso de Souza was patrolling the Malabar Coast, when he heard that Pate Marakkar had eluded him and had reached the Fishery Coast. Grimly he sailed southwards. His first attempt to get at the enemy failed, bad weather preventing his heavy sailing ships to get northwards on the east of Cape Comorin. With great difficulty he reached Manapad by means of rowing boats and there he promised to the envoys of the Great King and of his Heir apparent that he would again allow them the horse trade if in future they would pay, and they would not molest the Christians. But he had to return to Cochin to equip himself better for the fight.

The Moslems attributed his departure to faint-heartedness and believed themselves quite safe. But on the 28th of January 1538, de Souza, at the head of 300 soldiers on 22 rowing boats (with the crew and the slaves a total of 700 men), made for Vedalai. On the way he seized some boats of the Pate Marakkar people who had been fishing pearls and he delivered them over to the vengeance of the inhabitants of Tuticorin. Before daybreak, on the 30th, he attacked the Moslems from the sea, and while these were hurrying on board their ships and the fight was raging on the shore, he landed with his main force east of Vedalai and fell on the flank of the Moslems. A terrible fight took place with varying fortunes on both sides. Most of the Portuguese were wounded, when one of their Malabar Captains got a splendid idea; he set the Mahomedan boats, which were still on the beach, on fire, so as to make flight impossible. On seeing their ships burning, the Moslems lost every hope of escape and ran landwards in wild panic. At 10 a.m. the battle was decided. 800 dead Moslems covered the battlefield and the whole camp with its rich booty fell into Portuguese hands. 400 cannon, 2,000 muskets and many other weapons, 22 war-proas, and Pate Marakkar's gorgeous tent with the State

parasol, a present of the Zamorin to Mayadunne. The Paravars took the rest of the booty, delivered their prisoners and gave back the captured ships to their owners. As retaliation for all they had suffered, they once more burnt down Kayalpatnam, which the Mahomedans had just built up.

The victory of Vedalai was extolled in the whole of India and in Portugal. The Bharathars were triumphant, the Singhalese Emperor of Kotte hailed De Souza as saviour; the power of the Moslems in Calicut and in South India was broken. Of the three chiefs who took flight, Ali Ibrahim succumbed to his wounds, whereas Pate Marakkar, who had lost all his treasure, and Cunhale, escaped to Ceylon. There Miguel Ferreira took up their pursuit and left their protector, Mayadunne, no respite till he had their heads. The Zamorin was henceforth a broken man. At the end of 1539, he sued for peace and this was granted to him. However, before confirmation from Portugal reached Calicut, he had died, and peace was definitely concluded only on the 3rd of April 1540, with his successor.

Five years after the victory of Vedalai, in a letter dated from Tuticorin (*Mon. Xaveriana* I, 275–76), Xavier, whose ancestors had once helped to drive the Moors out of Navarre, comes back on that great event. He mentions the interest taken by Martin Alphonso de Souza in the fate of the new Christians he had saved from Moslem tyranny and how he recommends them to Xavier's apostolic zeal.

(*b*) *The Jesuits called to India.*—As a matter of fact, Martin Alphonso's love for his neophytes of the Fishery Coast had induced him to take Xavier and his companions along with him as he sailed back to India in 1541.

This came about in the following way. In December 1536 Frei Lourenso de Goes, O.F.M., had sent the first news of the conversion of the Bharathars to King John III in a letter about the Thomas Christians. This letter reached (Q 191) Lisbon in the autumn of 1537. The following December the King sent his ambassador, Dom Pedro Mascarenhas, to Rome and told him to inform the Pope, that, according to the latest news brought by his Indian fleet, more than 50,000 souls round about Cape Comorin had been converted to Christianity and that there was hope of the whole region

coming over to the Christian Faith. Master Jerome Osorius, a fellow-student of Xavier, hastened to inform their former Principal, Dr. Diogo de Gouvea, President of Saint Barbara's College in Paris, of that happy event. In his turn, Diogo de Gouvea wrote (Q 268) in February 1538 to King John, and urged him to get Ignatius and his companions for the work of the evangelisation of India. He could not think of better missionaries.

"For God's sake, may Y.H. write at once to your envoy in Venice (where Simon Rodriguez and six other companions of Ignatius had repaired) and to your envoy in Rome, to get into touch with them." There is no need to repeat here the well-known story of the foundation of the Society; how Ignatius and his companions had taken their first vows in Paris in the year 1535; how they had placed themselves at the disposal of the Pope for any work he might entrust to them; how Europe was already beginning to admire their piety, zeal and science. No wonder that "Gouvea could think of no better missionaries".

He wrote also to the first companion of St. Ignatius, Fr. Peter Faber, whose Principal he had been when Faber was studying in the college of Santa Barbara, in Paris.

His appeal was not in vain. In the name of his companions, Faber wrote back to his former Principal that they stood at the disposal of the Pope. If he sent them to India, they would willingly go (Q 341). Gouvea at once communicated this answer to King John III who put the matter in the hands of his ambassador in Rome, enclosing therewith a copy of Faber's answer (Q 396). We know how Mascarenhas addressed himself to Ignatius and the Pope. On the 10th of March 1540 he could report to the King that two missionaries had been granted to him (Q 407–87). Already in June he arrived in Lisbon with Xavier, who left Portugal the following year in order to start the Jesuit missions in Asia.

It is not our purpose to describe fully St. Francis Xavier's marvellous work, nor the work of his followers among the Paravars or Bharathars. But we could not forbear to reproduce here the account of the work done by a layman in extending the Kingdom of God. His motives were not the purest; nor were the Bharathars brought to Christ only by

their appreciation of the beauties of the Gospel. No mass conversion has ever taken place for these motives. Yet the Paravars in time came to be amongst the finest Christians in the East. And the work done among them by the Fathers of the Malabar Province forms one of the brightest pages in the History of the Society in India.

4. St. Francis Xavier in India

St. Francis Xavier sailed from Portugal in the spring of 1541, on Affonso Martin de Souza's Admiral ship *Santiago*. We have read the description of the voyage to India left to us by Fr. Thomas Stephens, S.J. Xavier's voyage did not differ greatly from that. Before he left Lisbon, King John III had given him four Papal Briefs. In the first two (27th July and 2nd August 1540) he was made Apostolic Nuncio, and was given the amplest faculties to enable him to maintain and propagate the faith in the East. The third Brief was addressed to David, Emperor of Ethiopia, the last (4th October) to all the Princes of Africa and India.

Xavier reached Goa in May 1542, and the first thing he did was to place himself entirely in the hands of Bishop Albuquerque, promising him that he would not make more use of his authority as Nuncio, than would be agreeable to the Bishop.

We shall not describe here the manner of his life in Goa; his work among the Portuguese, in the hospitals, in the prisons. All these things are well known to our readers.

In the previous paragraph we have spoken of the conversion of the Paravars. But it can scarcely be called conversion, for, the Priests who went from Cochin to the Fishery Coast, baptized some 20,000 Paravars, without instructing them in the commandments of God, without teaching them the mysteries of our Faith. The Paravars became Christians by name, but continued to live as Pagans; and the Priests, discouraged by the immensity of their task, enervated by the trying climate, and half-starved by the dearth of provisions, left the Fishery Coast and returned to Cochin.

When Xavier was working in Goa, Miguel Vaz happened to be there. He saw the zeal, humility and heroic self-sacrifice of the Saint, and he thought that here was the man to carry on the work hardly begun among the Paravars. So he invited him to go to the Fishery Coast.

The great missionary, accompanied by three Indian Clerics and the Novice Francis Mansilhas, who, together with Fr. Paul da Camerino, had come to India with Xavier, reached the Fishery Coast in October 1542.

Helped by some Eurasians, he managed to translate into Tamil the common prayers, the Commandments of God, the formula of General Confession and a brief summary of Christian Doctrine.

From a *Memoir*[1] written by Fr. Valignani, the famous visitor and organiser of the Jesuit Missions in the East, we learn something of the methods followed by Xavier in instructing the Paravars. After having learnt the Tamil prayers by heart, he taught them to the children. On Sundays he gathered the grown-ups, and repeated the prayers with them till they knew them. This was no easy task, but the enthusiasm of the Saint, his patient kindness, and also the miracles wrought by God through his prayers, overcame all obstacles.

After a little more than one year Xavier went back to Cochin and Goa to ask for help; and in February 1544 he returned to the Fishery Coast with four Priests (two Europeans and two Goans) and with their help he continued the hard work of christianising the Paravars.

But that was almost undone by the Vadughers, or soldiers at the service of the Rajah of Madura, who came to restore the coast to the Pandians of Madura.

Almost at the same time, the Viceroy, Alfonso de Sousa, decided to send the Portuguese to Travancore, to rob the pagan temples of their treasures. They fell in, unawares, with the Vadughers, and, fearing defeat, took refuge on their ships. The Vadughers, seeing they had lost an opportunity of avenging their gods on the Pranguis, turned their wrath on the Paravars of the Cape. These poor people, to escape the Vadughers, took shelter on the neighbouring islands. But there they had neither rice nor water.

[1] *Cf.* Introd. to the *Monumenta Xaveriana*, published in Madrid.

Xavier came to the rescue, exhorting the Northern Paravars to come and help their brethren. He himself, at the head of twenty boats, which the charity of the Portuguese had loaded with provisions, brought comfort to the distressed. Meanwhile, the Vadughers attempted to enter Travancore through the Aramboli pass.

According to Mansilhas, the Saint miraculously stopped the army. But, since Valignani is silent about this great event, we shall not lay stress on it. The fact is that, through Xavier's endeavours, peace was concluded between the belligerents (October 1554).

The Fishery Coast was restored to Madura, and the Ghauts formed the new frontier between Travancore and the Pandian Kingdom. It was then that the Rajah of Travancore, grateful to Xavier for the work he had done in averting an invasion, invited him to his Capital.

5. The Work of St. Francis Xavier in Travancore

Here we shall follow Valignani's sober narrative.

He says: "After the Saint had employed his second year on the Fishery Coast, he passed to the other, called the Travancore Coast, that extends from Cape Comorin to Quilon. For, though in the inland between those two coasts there is a large population of infidels, yet the Santo Padre tried first to convert the people of the coast; and this he did for three reasons.

"First, the country in the interior is all dominated by the Brahmins, a set of people who hold strongly to their law as they find it to be the foundation of their superiority and power and the source of their revenues. Secondly, the Saint understood well that the minds of those fishermen of the coast are so rude and so blunt that reasons can never effect as much among them as fear. Thirdly, he wished to avail himself of the assistance that was offered him by the presence of numerous Portuguese vessels plying in those seas for trade. In fact, their owners were very greatly interested in the fishermen of the coasts becoming Christians since, otherwise, those mariners could cause them no end of trouble. Now these fishermen, called Mucoas—Mucuvers—were much more uncouth and ill-disciplined than the Paravars. Xavier, therefore, after having obtained the consent of the Captain of Quilon, took with him some interpreters, tried to make those fishermen understand that by becoming Christians they would be benefited both in regard to the salvation of their souls and their temporal concerns. For, if they were on good terms with the Portuguese, they would be protected by them at sea and thus enjoy a security both for their fishing and their transport trade. And he proposed them the example of the Paravars. On his side, the Captain of Quilon, to induce them to follow the Saint's advice and to inspire them with a salutary fear for having insulted the Portuguese, had tried to give them an idea of the effects of his wrath, if once excited. At last, through the promise made to them and the threats in regard to their fishing, Xavier succeeded (*compelle intrare ad nuptias*) in determining a great number of them to accept baptism.

"Then, as though Xavier feared lest their good dispositions should vanish, he proceeded to baptise them all at once without any preliminary instruction. He went from village to village proceeding in the order in which the demands were made or as required by local conditions. On coming to a village he began by assembling the men, young and old, separately. As soon as they were gathered, the Saint chose some prominent position from which he could command their attention. Then beginning by a triple sign of the Cross, he bade the assembly make an act of faith in the mystery of the Blessed Trinity. After this, he himself recited the principal prayers, the audience repeating after him. On this followed the explanatory instruction of the Apostles' Creed and the Commandments, according to the translation made on the Fishery Coast. This instruction over, the Saint asked the audience if they believed, and for this purpose he repeated once more the Creed, article by article, each one of the audience answering after the recital of each article, "I believe". Lastly, when all this was over, he baptised them, and to each one of the baptised, he handed over his Christian name in writing. After the men were done with, came the turn of the women. When all the village had been thus baptised, the Saint presided over the destruction of the idols and pagodas. And he adds: 'It is for me an indescribable joy to see those idols falling to pieces under the blows of those very people

who worshipped them before'. This was the reward of a hard worked day. To continue the work thus begun, even during his absence, he left in every Christian village a copy of the prayers; and arranged that every day the people should assemble at an appointed time, morning and evening, to repeat and learn them. Xavier visited in this manner ten or eleven central villages starting from Perunmanel and going up towards Quilon. Thus in a month, as the Saint writes to St. Ignatius, he baptised over ten thousand persons. The last village he visited was Brinjam from which he went to confer with the Captain of Quilon with a view to obtaining from him that he should help the missionaries in charge of those new Christians by keeping them in check so far as lay in his power. For, as those among them who traded by sea could not do so profitably without a licence granted by the Captain, it was agreed that such a grant should be conditioned in every case by the producing of a certificate of good conduct delivered by the missionary."

6. The Martyrs of Manar

The fame of Francis Xavier spread far and wide. Some fishermen, living at Patim in Manar, heard of the liberation of the Paravars from the exactions of the Muslims; they too desired Portuguese protection. They heard also of "the Great Father", who did so much for the poor, and who was held in such esteem by the Rajah of Travancore. They thought that if they appealed to him, he would move Portugal in their favour.

So they sent him a deputation, asking him to come and baptise them. But he would not abandon Travancore and the Mucuvers just then, so he sent them one of the priests, whom he had brought to the Fishery Coast. God blessed the priest's efforts, and soon a great multitude of people was baptized.

The Ruler of Jaffna, fearing lest the Portuguese should come to the island under the pretext of protecting the new converts, sent his soldiers to compel the new Christians to return to paganism; should they refuse, they were to be slaughtered.

Seven hundred of them, or according to a more moderate estimate, four hundred, were killed.

Xavier was shocked at the news, and though rejoicing at the marvellous fortitude of the Neophytes, thought that the might of Portugal should avenge them. He called Mansilhas to continue his own work among the Mucuvers, and he left Travancore to go and interview the Viceroy.

Meanwhile, the first son of the Rajah of Jaffna, moved by the example of the Martyrs, and instructed by a Portuguese merchant, embraced the faith. Though the matter was kept secret, somehow it reached the ears of the tyrant, who, enraged at the constancy of his own son, had him removed to the jungle and killed. But his own sister, who was probably a hidden Christian, begged of the Portuguese, who had instructed the Prince, to instruct her own two boys, nay, to take them to Goa, where they would be more secure.

All this added new fire to Xavier's burning zeal and he pleaded with the Viceroy, not only to avenge the Martyrs, but also to help in the conversion of Ceylon. At first, the Viceroy seemed inclined to accede to Xavier's desires, but then he changed his mind.

Xavier, seeing that for the present nothing would be done, returned to Cochin. It was during this voyage that he passed through the Calicut Mission.

It is not probable that he ever visited South Kanara. We do not know whether he was in Calicut, but we are sure that he visited Cannanore in 1544 or 1545 and Chale (near Calicut) in 1549. On board the ship he found himself together with a man of rank, whose wicked life was so notorious as to be a scandal even to the heathens. Francis, whose manner of conversation was most engaging, made himself his friend, and little by little led him on to talk about religion. But it was all of no avail, for, being exhorted to confess, the man broke out into oaths and blasphemies, swearing no one would ever induce him to it. So matters went on till the ship put in at Cannanore. The two friends landed and walked together to a palm grove on the shore. Then Francis, baring his shoulders, began to scourge himself with the discipline, until the blood came. The man was taken aback, and the faith, which was not quite dead in him, blazed up suddenly. He understood in a flash that this was for him, as Christ's sufferings had been for him. He was overwhelmed with sorrow

and shame, he tried to stop the Saint; he threw himself at his feet, he confessed, and rose another man. The tradition of the scourging is still vivid among the people of Cannanore. A Chapel had been built in the Camp Bazaar in honour of St. Francis; but it was razed to the ground to make way for the railway.

No sooner did Xavier return to Cochin than he started on a pilgrimage to the tomb of St. Thomas, at Mylapore, to pray and fast there, in order to ascertain God's will as to an impulse, which he had felt for a long time to leave India to go and work in the Moluccas. He stayed in Mylapore four months, which he passed in solitude and prayer. Finally, he was convinced that God's will was that he should go to the Moluccas, and determined to start immediately, even, as he wrote, if he had to sail on a moorish boat.

7. The Missionaries' A.B.C.

Though the work which Xavier had done on the Fishery Coast and in Travancore was enormous, still more—infinitely more—remained to be done. As helpers he had only a few secular Priests, and still fewer members of the Society. He started, therefore, to write to St. Ignatius in Rome and to Fr. Simon Rodriguez in Lisbon, urging them to send workers to the Lord's vineyard. How he would have desired to write to the students at the various Universities of Europe, explaining to them the extreme need the poor Indians were in of knowing the true Religion, of being instructed in the mysteries of God, of having God's commandments explained to them! And what were they doing in Paris, at Padua, in Bologna? Wasting their time in vain disquisitions; studying, not with the desire of serving God, but merely of securing a fat living, a canonry, a mitre.

The impassioned appeals did not remain unheard. A few men came from Europe to India, to share Xavier's labours. Some remained in Goa, some in Cochin, others on the Fishery Coast.

Among these, were Fr. Antonio Criminali, who was appointed superior of the Mission on the Fishery Coast (1548) and Fr. En. Enriquez, who was to devote his time to acquire a thorough knowledge of Tamil.

At the beginning of 1548, Xavier returned to Cochin from the Moluccas, and soon left again for the Fishery Coast. The few missionaries working there were overjoyed to have their great leader in their midst.

He gathered them all at Manapad, and ordered them to rest there a little from their continuous labours. It was during his short stay at Manapad that Xavier gave to the missionaries his famous instructions.

We shall summarize them here.

The first care of the missionaries should be to give Baptism to little children. This should not be committed to others, but should be done personally by the missionary. Do not wait to be called; but you yourselves go from place to place asking if there are children to be baptized, lest they should die without Baptism.

Next, teach Christian Doctrine to the children. Since you cannot be everywhere, see to it that Catechists are well trained and perform faithfully their duty. When you visit a village, examine the children one by one.

Every Sunday gather the grown-ups into the church—especially the pantagatins, or leaders—teach them the prayers; endeavour to extirpate the vices and abuses rampant among them.

When you reach a place, find out the people who bear hatred. Do your best to reconcile them.

When Fr. Francis Coelho will have finished the translation of the Catechism in Malabar, read it to the men every Sunday, and to the women every Saturday.

Of the alms offered to the Church keep nothing for yourselves. Give all to the poor.

Try to get information about the sick, visit them. If their relations neglect to call you, refuse Christian burial to the dead.

When you visit the sick, say the CREED, and ask them article by article, whether they believe. Afterwards say the CONFITEOR and the other prayers. At the end read the Gospel over them. Conduct burials, in the following manner: Let the Cross go first. Then you follow with the children, singing the Catechism. When you reach the dead man's house, recite an anthem; and another when you leave. Do not

omit to make a short exhortation on the certainty of death, and on the importance of living a good Christian life.

Exhort both men and women to take their children to the Church when they are sick, so that the Gospel may be read over them.

Endeavour to put down quarrels and litigation. What you cannot do, let it be done on Sundays by the Pantagatins. Yet be careful not to leave spiritual works for temporal business. Big quarrels should be referred to the Portuguese Captain.

Endeavour to make yourselves loved. Seek to obtain more by love than by fear.

Do not punish any one before first asking Fr. Criminali. People who worship idols should be expelled from the village. Be kind to the children, if they deserve punishment, easily forgive them.

Do not speak ill of Indian Christians in the presence of Portuguese. Defend them. Speak up for them. It is but a short time that they have embraced Christianity, and it is to be wondered that they are not worse.

Help the Malabar Priests in spiritual things. See that they confess and say Mass. Do not write evil of them. Be friendly with the Portuguese Captains, and with the Portuguese. Do not speak of temporal things. Speak to them of death, judgment, God's punishments. Write often to the Fathers in Goa, and write to the Bishop with great reverence, for he is the ecclesiastical superior in these parts.

Even if the King asks you to go to some other country, do not go without Fr. Criminali's permission. Whenever you go, make yourselves loved, for thus you will be able to do much for the good of souls.

May the Lord grant it to you, and be always with you.

Amen.

8. The Seminary of Santa Fe

Now we shall pass on to another important work of the Society in Goa, which was started as follows:—

The little success the Portuguese had in converting the Hindus, moved Diego Borba, Miguel Vaz and others to decide upon a work which, later on, would grow to magnificent proportions, and would give a mighty impulse to the evangelisation

of India. The work was the Seminary of Santa Fe, which gradually developed into the College of St. Paul. The idea at first was only to establish a Confraternity of men of good conduct and zeal, who would work to put down idolatry and establish religion. The Bishop Don Joao de Albuquerque favoured the plan. The statutes were carefully prepared, and on Easter Sunday, the 24th of April, were published from the Pulpit of Nossa Senhora de Luz, before all the Goan Nobility. Alms were gathered to maintain the Neophites, and the Altar of the Conversion of St. Paul in the same Church was granted to the new Confraternity. Its members, seeing the great scarcity of Priests decided to open a kind of Seminary where boys and young men from Kanara, the Deccan, Malabar, Ceylon, Bengal, Malay, China and Abyssinia should be instructed in the truths of our Holy Religion and eventually become Priests or at least Catechists and Interpreters. The Governor, Stephen Gama, gave money to the new Institution. King John III endowed it with the rich lands which had formerly belonged to the temples.

Diego Borba, having come to know Francis Xavier, and having heard of the newly established Company of Jesus, wrote to Simon Rodriguez in Portugal, asking him to send some Fathers to undertake the work of the education of the young converts at Santa Fe. Meanwhile, Paolo da Camerino —who had been detained in Mozambique—reached Goa, and, instead of following Xavier to the Fishery Coast, remained in the new Seminary.

St. Francis Xavier in a letter to St. Ignatius, written from Goa, October 18, 1543, speaks of it in the following terms:— "Some persons out here, guided, it is clear, by the inspiration of God, have lately founded a College at Goa, and no work could be named of which there was greater need in these parts. It increases daily, and we have great cause for giving thanks to God for the establishment of such a house for the instruction, I trust, of many converts and the conversion of many infidels. The building of the College is in the hands of men of great virtue and high position. The Governor (Don Martin Alfonso de Souza) himself favours the business greatly and is so convinced that the design is one which tends to the advancement of the Christian religion, that it is chiefly with his funds and

by means of him that the buildings destined for the purpose seem likely to be enlarged and finished in a short space of time. The Church, which is close to the College, is of a very handsome design. The foundations were laid a long time ago, now the walls are finished, and they are putting on the roof. It will be consecrated next summer. If you want to know its size, it is twice as large as the Church of the Sorbonne in Paris. The income allotted to the College is large enough to support easily a hundred students, and people think will be further increased continually. Indeed we hope with God's help, that in a few years many will go forth from this place who will do good service to religion in these countries, and extend far and wide the boundaries of Holy Church."

In 1548 Borba died, and Cosimo Annes—one of the founders—insisted that the Seminary should come under the full government of the Jesuits. John III agreed to that, and became the generous Patron of the College. Meanwhile ten more Fathers arrived from Europe. Among them was Anthony Gomez. He was learned in Philosophy and Canon Law, a good preacher; very zealous for the salvation of souls. But he was very hard-headed, and harsh, and as Bartoli puts it: "with more fervour in his heart than judgment in his head".

Simon Rodriguez, the Provincial of Portugal, had sent this man to India as Rector of the new College of Goa. Xavier acquiesced, and the Rector started immediately on the dangerous path of reforms. The Fathers, though good and fervent, must become new men. The College must be a new Coimbra. Every day new regulations, new changes, new things.

Xavier, who had not yet left for Japan, on being informed of all this, changed the Rector and ordered Gomez to leave Goa for Ormuz. He made Paolo da Camerino his Vicar over the rest of the Jesuits in India, till he should return from Japan.

But Gomez succeeded in enlisting the good offices of a high Government Official in his favour, and remained in Goa; in fact, no sooner Xavier left India, than Gomez usurped Camerino's authority.

In the Seminary his exaggerated spirituality created much discontent among the pupils. He drove them on full speed, and the slackers he punished. Many ran away; others he expelled. In their stead he accepted 27 Portuguese. But

the Bishop of Goa, who saw the Seminary changed into a kind of noviciate, was much displeased. Yet he could do nothing, for Gomez had the ear of the new Governor George Cabral, and, with his support could do anything he liked. Things were bound to come to a head. But before we speak of this, we shall turn our eyes to Tanur, where the Rajah showed a great desire to embrace Christianity, and where Gomez worked heart and soul to induce him to enter the fold.

9. The Rajah of Tanur (2)

Tanur is now a fishing village a few miles from Calicut. In the sixteenth century it was more important. It had its own Rajah, who belonged to the house of Puttiangadi, and was known to Malayalees as Vettat Rajah.

From his youth he had been favourably inclined towards the Portuguese. He made friends with Luis Xiralupo, the Commander of Challe, and willingly heard Fr. Vincent De Lagos and the Vicar Suarez, who often spoke to him about the true Religion. Little by little faith seemed to take root in his heart and in December 1545 he thus wrote to the Governor of Goa, Juan De Castro.

"It is many days that I wish to become a Christian. I have deferred Baptism till now that it may take place during your term of office. And in order that you should give credit to me I have called Antonio Corelho Sousa, Captain of Challe, in order that I may send him to you.

I have given a long account of my determination, and he goes to speak with you and ask of you to bring the Bishop here. I beg of you not to hesitate or delay, for such things have to be dealt with with great diligence. Antonio Corelho will inform you more at length of all that has been treated by me and him together. Believe all he will tell you, that the affair may be speedily done. Bring with you as many people as you can; all this, in fact, is of great moment for the King of Portugal and me."

Done at Ponor, 9th Dec. 1545. (*Signature and Seal*).

The answer of the Viceroy was prompt but vague. Hence the King of Tanur wrote again:—

"The Captain of Challe has given me here your letter. I got it read to me. I knew what it contained and I was

greatly pleased, for I know they are words of a person who will not fail to keep them, nay who will do even more than he promised. As to me, I have written to you how for a long time I have the will to belong to your law. I have not done it so far, because my brother, the King of this country, is still living. I thought of doing it after his death and the death of my mother. Meanwhile, on the occasion of your arrival from Portugal, and considering the knowledge I have of you, I feel my desire increase so much, that I cannot defer any longer. I beg of you not to delay, but to come as soon as possible, as the Captain of Challe wrote to you on my behalf; the more so as my brothers, the proper heirs to the Kingdom, are of the same will as myself, and the majority of the people will choose what I choose. Yet, since this is a thing that has to be done spontaneously, perhaps the people will not do it immediately, like myself, but for that, they will not cease to be faithful to my service. Such great things cannot be accomplished within a short time. I shall therefore wait for you at Tanur, to talk with you, and to do what I am writing about."

Done at Poylecheyfe, 29th Dec. 1545.

(*Signature and Seal*).

Since the Viceroy could not himself go to Tanur, he wrote that he would send Don Diego de Borba, a prudent and experienced Priest.

In February 1546 Diego Borba wrote to Juan De Castro: "The King of Tanur is dissatisfied that Your Lordship is not coming, and he suspects the cause to be some secret letter of mine. He asks to be made a Christian together with his brothers and ten or twelve members of his family, but secretly, and without changing, for the moment, anything in his customs and idolatries, saying that he, by this dissimulation, will keep his Kingdom, and little by little will convert it, that he will favour us in every way to work for this object. He allows a Church to be built at Tanur, where there is a Christian very rich and ready to stand the expenses through devotion. The King, on his part, will help as far as he can. He adds that as soon as he will see his way of openly professing our religion, he will destroy the idols, and he will give as many

external signs of his faith as he has sentiments in his heart. All this will be done soon, if his brother dies.

This is what he says, and in these conditions he wishes me to make him a Christian. Let Your Lordship see what is to be done, for I will do only what I shall be ordered to do by Your Lordship and the Lord Bishop, and the Fathers and Doctors of the *Desembargo*. To you the decision, to us to perform what Your Lordship, the Lord Bishop, the Fathers and Doctors will have decided.

Meanwhile I shall give my opinion: to do such a thing in the conditions here detailed, is to go against all the decisions of Doctors, Theologians and Canonists, and in particular of St. Augustin, who does not authorise in any way such dissimulation, St. Paul says: "*Corde creditur ad justitiam, ore autem confessio fit ad salutem.*"

Subsequent events will show that Diego De Borba was perfectly right. But others differed; and Fr. Soarez, yielding to the Rajah's importunities, finally decided to baptise him. As a token of friendship towards John, King of Portugal, he took the name of John.

The Queen also was baptised, and then they were married according to the rites of the Church. This, however, was kept secret; and the Rajah thought he could be a Christian in spirit, and practise heathen rites and ceremonies in public; but, being uneasy in conscience, he wrote to the Bishop of Goa that he was ready to publish his own conversion, unless it would seem to him to delay it in order to prepare the Nayars to embrace Christianity. In the meantime he would arrange matters with the neighbouring Rajahs, to avoid complications, and, when all was favourable he would show himself a Christian. Meanwhile he was asking for a Religious of the Society to direct him in his perplexities; and as a token of his sincerity he would allow the building of a Church in Tanur.

Fr. Antonio Gomez, the inexperienced, but self-confident Rector of San Paulo, was chosen for this mission, and he left Goa in April 1549. The Raja of Tanur seemed to be very fervent, he listened willingly to Fr. Antonio's instructions; he shed tears before the Crucifix; he showed great perseverance. Then Fr. Gomez thought of persuading him to go to Goa, and

there make a public profession of faith. The Viceroy Cabral did not relish the idea, but the Bishop of Goa favoured Fr. Gomez's plan. His opinion prevailed and the journey was fixed for the coming October. The contemporary letters which relate the story read like a romance. No sooner was the plan known to the people of Tanur than they sent a deputation, headed by a Prince, to dissuade the Rajah from going to Goa. Why should he leave his Kingdom? How could he trust himself into the hands of foreigners? Would not the neighbouring Rajahs attack the Kingdom during his absence?

Seeing that it availed nothing, they managed to confine the Rajah to his palace, setting a guard to it. But the new convert, invoking the Name of Jesus, let himself down the first and second walls by means of his turban, which he had fixed somehow by means of stags' horns to the wall. But, on crossing the third wall, he fell and hurt his head and his foot. He attempted to swim out to the ship that was waiting for him; but nearly drowned himself.

Finally, he succeeded in reaching the ship. The people, having discovered his flight, rushed to the shore, imploring him to stop. He succeeded in quieting them, and dismissed them with gifts. Then he proceeded to Goa, happy to have suffered all that for Christ. The Bishop, the Governor, all in fact, received him with great pomp. He received Confirmation privately. After spending ten days in Goa among the most splendid festivals, he returned to Tanur. Before his departure, he had promised that he would declare his faith openly. But for the moment that was not possible, for then he would have played into the hands of his brother, who was eager to supplant him.

He left with his old friend, Fr. Vincent, promising that he would always be the ally of Portugal, and that by and by his whole Kingdom would embrace Christianity.

But the events belied all these fair beginnings. Returned to Tanur, the Rajah lived outwardly as a Pagan, nor did he care for the conversion of his people. Both the Bishop and the Governor eventually visited Tanur, but got nothing from John the Convert, except that two Crosses were put up before his royal residence, and a proclamation was issued to the fishermen, either to become Christians, or leave the place.

Secretly, however, they were told to remain as they were, for nobody would molest them.(3)

It is strange that of all this adventure there is no trace in the correspondence of St. Francis. Did he mistrust the Rajah from the beginning? Did he not make much of the enthusiasm of Fr. Gomez? On going to Challe in 1549, he ordered Fr. Barzaeus to leave the place. Then he kept quiet. There were too many who were deceived by the new convert. St. Francis was not one of them. While Fr. Gomez was in the South, he travelled all over the country, endeavouring to make peace between Tanur, Calicut and Cochin. His efforts were practically successful. It was then that he conceived the idea of establishing a Jesuit Noviciate at Challe.

10. Plans for a Noviciate at Challe, near Calicut—Troubles in Cochin

In fact, Fr. Gaspar Barzaeus was sent there to select the place and open the Noviciate. But the Dominicans were already working in Challe, and, though the civil authorities favoured the scheme, the Friars were against it. Further, the Christians in Challe were few, round Challe they did not exist. So, where could the Novices be recruited from? Also, the Zamorin being always hostile, Challe, in time of war, would be exposed to the horrors of a siege; and surely a besieged fortress was no place for a Noviciate. Xavier, on visiting Challe in 1549, did not approve of Fr. Gomez's plans, and, as we have said, asked Fr. Barzaeus to leave the place. So the ambitious scheme fell through. When Fr. Gomez passed from Challe to Cochin, he heard of the determination of the town to found a Jesuit College. The Jesuits had already a School there, frequented by 150 young Portuguese, who were admired by the whole town for their fervour.

The Captain of the town offered to Fr. Gomez a palm grove and the Church of the Mother of God. The Father accepted, though the Vicar of the Church, and a Sodality, to which the Church belonged, were strongly opposed. But Fr. Gomez fought against them, and went as far as to have them imprisoned. The town then turned against him, and wrote complaints to Rome and to Lisbon. Other complaints were made by the Jesuits themselves, who resented the fact

that Gomez had set aside Fr. Paul, and had usurped his authority. Further, he had sown disorder and confusion among the missionaries of the Fishery Coast.

In the meantime, Xavier returned from his first mission to Japan. In Cochin he undid the mischief wrought by Gomez, by returning the Church to the Sodality, to which it had formerly belonged. He freed from prison the unfortunate people whom Gomez had had condemned. He knelt before them and humbly asked their pardon, thus regaining for the Society the love which it had nearly lost.

In Goa, Fr. Gomez's policy, with regard to the Seminary of Santa Fe was reversed; and Fr. Gomez was sent back to Europe and eventually expelled from the Society.

We shall not speak here of the second mission of Xavier to Japan, of his work there, and of his heroic death on the Island of Sancian in December 1552.

11. A General Estimate of St. Francis Xavier's Mission in India

Rather we shall endeavour to give a general estimate of Xavier's Mission in India, and of his marvellous success. Panegyrists have spoken of the millions which he converted. Even Bartoli asserts that he could leave Travancore with gladness, for there remained no more Pagans to be converted. Others, on the contrary, have unduly diminished the number of his converts. The Saint himself, writing to Saint Ignatius about his work among the Mukuvers, says that in a month he "baptized over ten thousand persons". Naturally, this was not done by himself alone, nor was 'ten thousand' the monthly average. But surely we can say that the total number of Baptisms in Travancore was above twelve thousand—the too modest estimate of Fr. Castets. Similarly we believe that one thousand Kadeyers is far too low. It is more difficult to estimate the number of Paravars, whom Xavier baptised; for numbers differ with different authors.

Now a word about the organisation of the Missions. And first about the Missionaries. *Since all religious instruction had to be given in the native tongue, the first duty of the Missionaries was to learn the vernacular.* This seems so natural to us as scarcely to deserve mention. But it was not so in Xavier's time. The priests who accompanied the Portuguese, lived in Portuguese settlements, worked for the Portuguese, and knew only Portuguese. When they received the natives into the Church, they gave them a summary instruction through interpreters. The result was that the natives were ill-instructed, could not confess, and lived more like pagans than Christians.

Next, *in each Mission the Missionary had to have permanent Catechists, to help him in the work of Evangelisation.* While the Missionaries travelled from place to place, the Catechists were to remain in each village, where they had to instruct the children, watch over the conduct of the villagers, gather them every Saturday or Sunday into the Church for prayers. Further, they had to keep the Father informed of the main happenings; they had to prepare adults for Baptism, call the Father to visit those who were dangerously ill, and so on.

The social customs of the Indians in regard to dress, food, etc., were to be respected. This was against the practice prevalent in Goa and within, or near, the Portuguese settlements. Caste is, no doubt, against the spirit of Christianity, as slavery was. But just as the ancient Church tolerated slavery, so caste had to be tolerated in India, till the Christian atmosphere would make it impossible for it to continue in its rigidity. Xavier's trusted successor, Fr. Enriquez went so far as to tolerate different places for different castes in the Church, and even to allow a separate Church to be built for people of low caste.

St. Francis Xavier stamped the Eastern Missions with a character that was quite his own, and, which, later on, was faithfully maintained by the Society. Before him some Friars, more enthusiastic than practical, had appeared on Indian soil, preaching Christ, and cursing the Prophet and the Gods of Hind. They gained for themselves the palm of martyrdom, without making any impression on the heathens, without lighting up in India the torch of faith. It was Xavier who sketched the future organisation of the Missions in the East, and opened new horizons. His mission was to blaze the trail. That is why he could not sit still. That is why he had to travel from India to Moluccas, and from the Moluccas to Japan.

The restless spirit which drove the Jesuits to Delhi and Agra, to Madura and Chandragiri, which steered their aspirations towards the conversion—not only of a few coast peoples —but of the immense multitudes of the interior, which inspired their conception of the "*Siege of the Mogor*", was breathed into them by Xavier.

His life was soon burnt out; but he continued to live in his followers.

Standing near his magnificent tomb in the BOM JESUS one thinks of the inscription on Trivulzio's tomb:

NUNQUAM QUIEVIT. QUIESCIT.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

1 *The Narrative of Joao da Cruz:—*

"Sire! in 1535 I received a communication from Your Highness with a letter of respite for two years concerning the payment of the 4,000 Cruzados which I owe to the Royal Treasury. Now to earn my livelihood I borrowed a dozen Arab horses in Cochin and brought them to Cape Comorin, hoping thus to gain the favour of the Great King: * he took them, but has so far not paid for them, so that I am poorer than ever.

As I was staying there and awaiting payment, I devised a means to render a great service to Your Highness and to recuperate the fortune I spent and lost in its service. This consisted in persuading the people of the Fishery Coast to become Christians. So I spent much time and the little I still possessed to induce the leading men through presents to embrace Christianity and get their people to do the same. It pleased the Lord to grant me the favour to see, by my endeavours and the help of Your Highness, the whole coast begin to join our Faith.

After they decided to take the step, I took twenty of the more important men at once to Cochin, to Pero Vaz, Vedor of the factory, to the Vicar-General and to the Governor. They immediately took the neçessary dispositions for God's service and for the interests of Your Highness. Then I went back without delay accompanied by the Vicar-General and four Clerics and we baptised on the spot 50,000 souls: men, women and children. Later on, countless others followed, so that there are now already 80,000 Christians. I have been working among them to serve Our Lord and Your Highness but I have been put to great expenses, the money for which I had to borrow, in the hope that Your Highness would requite me as I deserve for all I have done. I entreat Your Highness not to forget me and to grant me one favour: the

* The King of Bisnagar.

lease of pearl-fishing for four or five years. With this money (which, in any case, is lost for Your Highness, the officials keeping it for themselves) I shall try to make more people join Christianity as I hope they will, and bring their number to about 200,000.

May Your Highness remember that the Zamorin robbed me of 35,000 pardos because I had become a Christian and he would have deprived me of wife and children, as well as much valuable property, if I had not taken refuge in the (Portuguese) fort of Calicut, and this, because I had acted in the interests of God and of Your Highness.

Therefore I entreat Your Highness for God's sake and in remembrance of Your Highness's Father of happy memory and of the services I have been rendering to God and to Your Highness, to pardon my debt of 4,000 cruzados, as I am so poor and have no means to pay Your Highness who will do me thus a great favour and charity.

On the way back from Cape Comorin to this place (Cochin) (it was in September or October 1537) I passed through the Kingdom of Travancore to have an interview with the Maharaja. According to the custom for such visits, I offered him presents and showed how advantageous it would be for the salvation of their souls to become Christians, himself and all the rulers of the land. Besides, this would promote peace and friendship with Your Highness and would induce the Portuguese Governor once more to allow him the horse trade in Travançore, which had been forbidden him, although he was in great need of horses, owing to the Great King's wars with his neighbours. Through the divine grace the Maharaja acquiesced to my proposition, allowed the coast-people to embrace Christianity and at once sent his envoys here. They are waiting now for the arrival of the Governor and of the Vicar-General, who should make them Christians, and send some Clerics, as they did for Cape Comorin. Please God the whole coast from Quilon to Coromandel will, through His grace, the favour of Your Highness and my humble efforts, come over to our Holy faith.

In order to help me to serve Our Lord and Your Highness in this business so glorious to God and in order to induce the rulers of these kingdoms to become Christians, Your Highness should grant me the privilege that no one in these parts, from Quilon to the shallows of Chilao, should be allowed to trade in horses without my authorisation.

Besides forwarding God's glory, Your Highness would thus honour me, and the people here would infer that I am a person of consideration among the Portuguese. That will be the case, believe me, if in fact, they see me wearing the insignia of the Order of Christ and receiving due honours from your officers. In the contrary case they will take me for somebody without

influence and will attach no importance to what I tell them. Among these people it is sometimes necessary to talk as one having authority.

In the Kingdom of Narasinga, the coast population (from Palayakayal to Vembar), about 60,000 souls, is embracing Christianity. I requested them to send some of their prominent people to receive baptism. They came, were baptised and I sent two Champanas (boats) along with the newly baptised. As these boats returned with other candidates for baptism, our Coromandel fleet captured them and sold over 200 souls. Your Highness may infer from this what kind of justice prevails here in the absence of a Governor. At the time I was not on the spot, but in Travancore. Some six or seven Rajas with their peoples acknowledge Your Highness as their overlord and are willing to pay tribute, and, please God, many of them will become Christians.

May the favours and privileges I beg from Your Highness be dispatched to me ready made immediately from Lisbon. I have no money to induce anybody here to take steps in the matter ....."

Cochin, this 15th of December 1537.

(*Signed*) DOM JOHN DA CRUZ.*

2 FRA PAOLINO describes TANOR as "an ancient city" on the seashore at 11 degrees of latitude. In ancient times it had a King called Vattatara Giava.

In a note in the first volume of the voyage of PYRARD DE LAVAL, who visited Calicut at the beginning of the seventeenth century (p. 425), we read that the King of Tanor was the Rajah of Vettat Putiangadi, known to Malayalees as Vettat Raja. The family became extinct in 1793.

Now Tanor (Tanur) is "an important fishing village, a sub-port and headquarters of the fish-curing industry". The *Malabar Gazetteer* (p. 457) states that "Tanur was one of the early settlements of the Portuguese, and after the peace of 1513 with the Zamorin a Chapel was founded there". This seems to be incorrect, for we know that the archetict of Fort Sant' Angelo (Cannanore) began a Fort on the northern bank of the Kallayi river in 1513. There—and not at Tanur—he built a Church, where a certain Fr. Diego Moraes was Vicar in 1516. Equally incorrect is the statement that "St. Francis Xavier visited the place in 1546 and converted the local Prince".

3 With regard to the Conversion of the Rajah of Tanur, *cf.* BARTOLI, *Asia*, libro III, pp. 205-215.

Cf. also documents published by CROS, *Saint Francisco Xavier*, Vol. I, p. 324.

* Published in *Monum Xav. II* (MATRITI, 1912), 846-48.

CHAPTER IV

SYRIAN BISHOPS IN MALABAR

JESUIT MISSIONS

(1525–1564)

1. POLITICAL CONDITIONS ON THE WEST COAST (1525–1571)

WE would gladly leave this matter to civil and political historians, were it not for the fact that it illustrates the conditions under which the Portuguese had to carry on their trade in India, and it shows how inevitable was the comparative failure of Portuguese missionaries in the dominions of the Zamorin.

From the very first appearance of the Portuguese in India, they encountered Moslem opposition. Gradually, however, they monopolised all the traffic in "the bark of spice trees and the clove jilly-flower, and the herb fennel", not to speak of pepper and ginger. The Moors tried their best to defeat them. They asked help of the Turks, against whom the great Albuquerque built a fortress at Ormuz in the Persian Gulf. In 1525 the Moors conquered the fort at Calicut (Kallayi). But soon after, the Portuguese built another fortress at Chalyiam [Challe].

Nuno da Cunha obtained possession of Diu in 1535. But in 1538 Diu was encompassed by the armies of Gujarat on land, and by the Turkish and Egyptian fleet. The defenders, however, beat off the assailants. Meanwhile the Moors, allying themselves with the Zamorin, rounded Cape Comorin, and destroyed Tuticorin and other towns on the East Coast. We have related their defeat at Vedalay.

This, together with the defeat of Suleiman Pasha, who had come from Suez to attack the Portuguese, shattered the hopes of the Zamorin. His treasury was exhausted, four of his fleets had been sunk, and the Calicut trade was languishing. He therefore requested Manoel de Brito, Captain of the fort of Chalyiam, to help him to negotiate peace with Goa. He was successful, and a treaty was signed at the Ponani bar at the beginning of 1540. It was agreed that no roving Calicut

boat was to have more than five oars aside; no vessel to go from, or enter into Calicut, without permission of the Captain of Chalyiam; the spices trade with Mecca not be carried on without permission from Goa; all Portuguese artillery that might be in the Zamorin's territory to be returned; similarly all the slaves and fugitives that might have escaped into his dominions to be given back and all the pepper to be supplied at the Cochin prices.

But in 1549 the Turks were preparing again to fight the Portuguese. In 1550 the latter had killed the Vadakkumbur Rajah and set fire to his palace. According to Malabar custom this was an insult to be avenged by all the allied Rajahs. Therefore the Zamorin, trusting in the help of the Turks, moved again against the Portuguese. Even the Rajah of Tanur, who had become a Christian, joined forces with the Zamorin. The territory of Cochin was invaded; but the Portuguese, after having destroyed Coulete (Quilandi) and the fortress of Ponani, came to the rescue of the Cochin Ruler who had gathered a large force. The Rajah of Tanur then sent a message to the Governor of Cochin to the effect that he wished to be on peaceful terms again with the Portuguese. The Viceroy, Don Alfonso de Noronha, sent orders to stop the war. The result was that 18 princes with their armies escaped.

But the sea war continued. In 1551 or 1552 a Turk at the service of the Zamorin took and destroyed Punikale; and then all the fleet that was sent to avenge it, was taken and all the men were slain. Guerilla warfare went on for a long time, and it was not till 1558 that Luis de Mello succeeded in drawing the Indians into battle and in defeating them.

Conditions in Kanara were not better. Barkur, once the centre of Banta and Jain supremacy, was burned by Sampayo in 1528, for sheltering some native craft, which was carrying rice to Calicut. Two years later Diego da Silveira destroyed Mangalore for a like reason. In 1540 Don Antao de Carvalho fought against the pirates who infested the creeks and ports of the West Coast. In 1542 Bhatkal was taken and burned and the Queen was punished for harbouring pirates and refusing to pay tribute to the Portuguese. Meanwhile Mangalore had risen again, but it was destroyed once more in 1555 by Don Alvares Silveira because the Queen of Ullal refused to pay tribute. After having been defeated by Luiz de Mello da Silva in a naval engagement off Cannanore, where they lost some 400 men, the Zamorin of Calicut and the Kollatiri of Cannanore got a certain Adi Rajao to attack Fort Sant' Angelo. Danvers relates that the besieging army was 100,000 strong, while De Mello had no more than 500 soldiers. Yet he succeded in freeing the city and driving off the enemy. The Viceroy sent 17 ships and 600 men to help De Mello who harassed the enemy and desolated the coast. In 1558 he burned Mangalore and other villages and towns. In 1564 the Kollatiri and the Zamorin again joined forces against the Portuguese. Jeronymo Dias De Menezes met three Malabarese paraos, captured the largest of them and slew most of the crew. The other two came to the rescue, but, though with difficulty, they were overcome by the Portuguese. The Viceroy complained to the Zamorin that he allowed these piracies to take place. He was told "Yes, they are pirates, and whoever falls in with them he is at liberty to punish them". Thereupon the Viceroy swore revenge. He decided to attack over eighty ships that were sailing for Calicut, and sent the terrible Domingo Mesquita against them. Should the Zamorin complain he would be told: "They are pirates, and whoever falls in with them is at liberty to kill them". Mesquita captured 24 sails and killed some 2,000 men. The Zamorin complained in vain with the new Viceroy. A woman, however, widow of one of the men killed by Mesquita, went about Cannanore, crying and bewailing, and calling upon the Moors to take revenge. They swore to exterminate the Portuguese. They besieged the Fort and set fire to 30 ships. Adi Rajao was helping them. Pedro da Silva and Meneze fought on the sea and sunk several vessels. Then Paul de Lima Pereira came down from Goa with four ships. While at anchor in the Bay of Bhatkal, he was attacked by Kunhali, whom he repulsed with heavy losses.

The Portuguese at Cannanore were heavily pressed by a numerous army. Andre de Souza died in the defence. Dom Payo de Noronha, his successor, killed over 2,000 Indians and cut down more than 40,000 coconut trees. The Indians, enraged, redoubled their efforts, but lost more than 5,000 men. On the arrival of Gonsalo Pereira the besiegers were furiously

attacked in front and the rear, and had to raise the siege. After that the war continued with less vigour, till the Kollatiri, utterly wearied, sued for peace, which was concluded in 1566.

But there was no peace with the Zamorin, whose Admiral Kunjali hampered the Portuguese in every way and always escaped their vigilance. In 1567 D. Antao de Noronha applied for leave to the Queen of Ullal to build a fort in Mangalore, which had risen again from its ashes. She refused and dismissed the ambassadors with scant courtesy. That cost her her Kingdom, for the Viceroy, at the head of 10,000 soldiers, 2,500 of whom were Portuguese in 54 vessels landed at Ullal on January 4th, 1568. During the night they were suddenly attacked by the enemy. Owing to the darkness, the Portuguese could not distinguish friend from foe, and a terrible carnage ensued. The next day they devastated the town, and the Queen fled to the mountains. Thus the already existing Factory of Mangalore was strengthened and the foundation stone of the Mangalore Fort was laid on the feast of St. Sebastian.

Three Religious of the Society accompanied the expedition as Chaplains. It is related that one of them, Fr. Joao Francisco Estephonio, was ever in front of the army, Crucifix in hand, exhorting the soldiers to courage. During the building of the Fort the Fathers set up a Hospital in a temple, that had been spared from destruction, and there they tended the sick and administered the Sacraments. No doubt, theirs was an act of charity and patriotism—and so it was regarded by the Portuguese. But how was it viewed by the natives? How would the message of peace be deemed sincere, when brought to them under such circumstances! It is the tragedy of Christianity to have been so long associated with trading and conquering nations. Two years after Don Louis Ataide, with 160 sails, attacked Onor (Honawar) situated on a rock, which was deemed impregnable, and Barcelor, which was stoutly defended by the Moors.

Fathers Sebastian Gonzales and Martin Silva accompanied the fleet. Fr. Silva was shot dead at Onor, while he was comforting the soldiers and tending the wounded.

At the siege of Barcelor Fr. Gonzales set up a large tent, where he gathered the wounded, and ministered to their needs,

both spiritual and temporal. It was here that a cannon ball no sooner touched his cassock than it fell spent at his feet.

In the same year 1569 Dom Jorge Menezes was sent with two galleys in pursuit of the pirate Kunhale. Kunhale escaped, but 180 men were killed. In the same year Dom Diego de Menezes carried fire and sword along the whole Malabar Coast and terrified the inhabitants. The towns of Coulete (Quilandi), Tiracole, Capocate, Padrarigale, Ponani and Calicut fell victims to his fury; over 1,000 Indians were killed or made slaves; more than 60 vessels were captured and many more sunk or burnt. It is said that the Portuguese lost only 4 men in all these engagements.

The Zamorin now asked for peace, but the Portuguese turned a deaf ear to his proposals, for there were reasons to doubt his sincerity. He then entered into an alliance with Adil Khan, who marched on Goa; with Nizam ul Shah, who attacked Chaul, while the Zamorin, his fleet being destroyed, mustered 100,000 men and laid siege to Chale (Chalyiam). The Portuguese defended themselves most valiantly, but all supplies being intercepted, they were overcome by famine. When they perceived that their condition was desperate, they sent messengers to the Zamorin, offering to deliver up the Fort with all their arms and ammunition, provided a safe passage was afforded them and protection for their personal property guaranteed. The Zamorin accepted these terms and the garrison marched out. This happened in 1571, when the Fort was entirely destroyed. Now no trace of the Fort remains. In 1846 Captain Newbold found a ruined doorway, the trace of a fosse and counterscarp, some mounds marking the southern gateway and the site of a few bastions. (1)

2. Ecclesiastical Organisation (1557–1580)

After having briefly described the political conditions, as they affected Kanara and Calicut, let us say a word on the ecclesiastical organisation.

Pope Paul IV on the 4th February 1557, by the Bull *Etsi Sancta* raised the Diocese of Goa to the dignity of an Archdiocese, and in the same year, by the Bull *Pro Excellenti Præeminentia* he raised the church of the Holy Cross in Cochin to a Cathedral and Cochin to a Diocese.

The Goa Archdiocese extended from Tibet to Dharmapatam, south of Cannanore, and Cochin included the territories from Cannanore to Cape Comorin on the West Coast and all the Indian East Coast. The Thomas Christians, however, continued to be under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Mossul, though Goa claimed her rights over them. Similarly, on the East Coast, the Jesuits who had gone there at the time of St. Francis Xavier, thought that the erection of the new Diocese of Cochin did not affect their jurisdiction, which they claimed to have received directly from the King of Portugal. This, as we shall see later on, will give rise to considerable difficulties. GASPER DE LEAO PEREIRA (1558–1576), the first Archbishop of Goa, was consecrated in Lisbon along with his two Suffragan Bishops of Cochin and Malacca. In 1560 he was installed in his Metropolitan See. About this time the number of Baptisms in Goa was very large and the Governor Francisco Barreto favoured the spread of Christianity in a very special manner. On Ascension Day in 1557, 22 persons were baptised in the College of St. Paul with great pomp and rejoicing. The Governor, together with the Patriarch of Ethiopia D. Joao Nunez Barreto and all the Court were present at the ceremony. On the 29th of June there were 120 baptisms, and 243 on the 14th of August. On the Feast of the Assumption there was the magnificent ceremony of the baptism of the daughter of the King Meale. On the 11th of March 1562 the King Dom Sebastian wrote a letter to the Archbishop of Goa wherein he shows how great was his zeal for the spreading of the Kingdom of Christ. He insists that both the Archbishop and the Viceroy should favour and help the Fathers of the Society of Jesus and other Religious in the work of conversion, not only in Goa and the surroundings but everywhere in his dominions. On the 1st of December of the same year, Pope Pius IV wrote to the Archbishop commending in a special manner the work of the Society of Jesus, confirming to it the privileges which it already enjoyed, and exhorting the Archbishop to favour in all possible manner the work of conversion. Thus the practice of solemn baptisms, which owing to strong opposition, had been given up, was renewed. It was Governor Barreto who forbade pagan rites and ceremonies in the state, and who ordered that the orphans of pagan parents should be baptised and put under

the care of tutors till the age of 14. In 1567 the Archbishop convoked the first Provincial Synod ever held in India. But before it assembled he either resigned, or was deprived of his see by the Viceroy, and the Council was presided over by the Dominican George Themudo, Bishop of Cochin. The Council forbids to induce anybody by force or threats to receive baptism. It endeavours to stem immorality, which is one of the main causes why conversions are delayed. It strives to lighten the condition of the slaves; it exhorts priests to instruct them in the faith and to procure freedom to them.

Themudo governed the Archdiocese till his death in 1571. In 1574 Archbishop Pereira was restored to the Government of his see, and he died in Goa in 1576. He assembled the second Provincial Synod in 1575. A third Suffragan See was erected in Macao in 1576.

Both the first and second Synod of Goa attempt to settle the troubles which had risen between the Portuguese and the Syrian Christians, who were suspected of Nestorianism. But of this later on.

The first Bishop of Cochin, GEORGE THEMUDO, Dominican, was consecrated in 1558. He was eminent for purity of life and zeal for the propagation of the faith. He died in April 1571.

P. HENRIQUE DE S. JERONYMO DE TAVORA, Dominican, was elected Bishop of Cochin in 1567, when Themudo was called to Goa. In 1578 he became Archbishop of Goa.

MATHEW DE MEDINA, of the Christus Order, was elected Bishop in 1578, and was translated to Goa in 1588. (2)

3. PORTUGUESE AND SYRIAN CHRISTIANS

The difficult position of the Portuguese on the West Coast, made it imperative for them to seek allies everywhere. The Rajah of Cochin was faithful to them. The Syrian Christians who could put on the field 25,000 armed men, were not opposed. Yet the Portuguese offended them by treating their aged Archbishop Mar Jacob with scanty respect. This is abundantly clear from the following letter of St. Francis Xavier to the King of Portugal. He says:

"Jacob Abuna has been serving God and Your Highness in these parts these last 45 years, a very old, virtuous and holy

man and at the same time disfavoured by Your Highness and almost all here in India. God gives him his grace, for he wants to favour him personally without using us as mediators to console his servants. Here he is only favoured by the Fathers of St. Francis, and by them he is so favoured that one could do no more. And if it was not for them, the good and holy old man would already be resting with God.

Your Highness should write to him a letter full of love, and in a chapter of it you should have him recommended to the Governors and Procurators and Captains of Couchim, that they give him the honour and reception, which he deserves, whenever he comes to them with some demand. This I do not write, as if the Bishop suffered want, for the charity of the Fathers of the Order of St. Francis will supply abundantly whatever he wants according to the zeal of charity they have. But Your Highness should write to him, recommending him very much to recommend you to God, for Your Highness needs more to be favoured by the Bishop in his prayers, than the Bishop needs the temporal favour of Your Highness. He has been working much amongst the St. Thomas Christians, and now in his old age he is very obedient to the customs of the Holy Mother the Church of Rome." (3)

If some Portuguese officials treated Mar Jacob with little courtesy, one may imagine how they treated the Syrian priests or Cassanars. They felt that the Cassanars were not with them; and the Cassanars, who suspected that the Portuguese would gradually undermine their authority, were not enthusiastic for the officers of the King of Portugal. To make the breach still wider, came the constant suspicion of Portuguese priests as to the orthodoxy of the Cassanars. The suspicions were not wholly without foundation. Good men then thought out a remedy. If the Cassanars are ill instructed, why not prepare a new generation of priests, educated by the Portuguese? They persuaded Mar Jacob to entrust the education of the young Levites to them. The good old man at the end of his second letter to the King says that he had brought seven boys to Cochin, presumably to be trained for the Priesthood. In 1539 four Malvars were sent to Lisbon for the same purpose.

Don Joao de Albuquerque, Bishop of Goa, decided to set

about this business very earnestly. So he sent his friend Fr. Vicente de Lagos to Malabar, to set up a kind of College or Seminary for young aspirants to the Priesthood. In 1549 the Seminary of Frey Vicente in Cranganore numbered 100 pupils, sons of the best Christian families. Of this College thus writes St. Francis Xavier to Simao Rodriguez, S.J. In this College "there are about 100 students, sons of those that descended from the Christians whom St. Thomas converted ... and there are 60 places of these Christians, and near these places is this College".

No doubt the education given in the College was good. But Frey Vicente did not know Syriac, and the boys were exclusively educated in the Latin customs. This led to discontent, and later on Mar Joseph, who succeeded Mar Jacob, will refuse them ordination.

St. Francis writes of Fr. De Lagos that he was a great friend of his. He was remarkable for zeal and charity, and a worthy son of St. Francis of Assisi. Eventually he was poisoned; but we do not know whether he was the victim of private revenge, or a Martyr of Christ.

Mar Jacob probably died in 1549, and his successor was Mar Joseph, one of the most discussed figures in the history of the Thomas Christians. In order to understand who Mar Joseph was, we must leave Malabar for a while, and turn our eyes to Syria.

4. Mar Joseph

(*a*) *The Patriarch Su-la-Qua* (+1555).—At the beginning of the sixteenth century the Chaldæan Church had been for over 1,000 years separated from Rome. But in 1551 an assembly of clergy and people met at Mossul, and chose as their Patriarch a certain Su-la-Qua, who, in order to frustrate the intrigues of the family of the late Patriarch Simon VII Barmama, thought of going to Rome, in order to obtain his consecration from the Pope. He reached Rome in November, 1552, and was consecrated Bishop in April 1553, after he had made the Profession of Faith, and had promised to reunite his people with Rome.

Card. Maffei in his *Informatio de Persona Patriarchæ* had asked Pope Julius III to give Su-la-Qua a learned priest *qui*

illos ritus huius orthodoxæ ecclesiæ nostræ doceret. They chose a Maltese Dominican, Ambrose Buttigeg, who was made Bishop of Auria in Phœnicia (5th May 1553), and then, on the 23rd June 1553, Nuncio of the province of Mossul. Before leaving, Bishop Ambrose took as his faithful companion for his mission, another Maltese, Antoninus Zahara. Patriarch Su-la-Qua and Bishop Buttigeg left for Mossul the same year. In November they reached Amida, where they were received with great rejoicings, and started immediately to work for reunion.

But the party of the former Patriarch excited the "BASSIANO CURDO" against Su-la-Qua who was taken prisoner and finally killed (January 1555). Bishop Ambrose escaped the fate of Su-la-Qua, only because he had delayed in Jerusalem while the other had hastened on to Mossul. Later on, he succeeded in gathering a meeting of Bishops, who adhered to Rome, and they chose as Patriarch ABDISO, Bishop of Gezireh—the same who signed the Acts of the Council of Trent, as Patriarch of Syria, India and China. From Syria, Ambrose Buttigeg and his faithful Antoninus go to Egypt, where they visit the Copt Patriarch, in order to establish reunion with Rome.

(b) *Patriarch Abdiso sends Mar Joseph to India* (1556).— But Abdiso desired to provide Bishops for his children in India. Ignoring the fact that India—without any distinction of new converts and old Christians—had been placed under the patronage of Portugal, he destined for the Indian Mission two Bishops, Mar Joseph and Mar Elias, together with two lay Brothers. They were accompanied by the Nuncio Ambrose Buttigeg, and his companion Antoninus Zahara.

Mar Joseph was the brother of the martyr Simon Su-la-Qua.

They reached Goa in November 1556, but there the Portuguese authorities, always suspicious of Chaldæan Bishops, put them in a monastery at Bassein, where they remained for one year and a half. We gather much information about their stay in Bassein from a letter of Antonio da Porto, written in November 1557 to the King of Portugal. (4) The letter will be reproduced in the Notes and Documents.

Here we shall give only a short summary; and first, speaking of the Chaldæan Bishop's life and conversation, Fr. Antonio asserts that "they were men of very spiritual conversation, and far from any malice either in words or deeds". They passed their time in prayer and study. They did not eat meat, nor drink wine; and during Lent or Advent, they did not even eat fish.

Fr. Antonio discussed with them many times points of Holy Scripture, and "found that their point of view conformed with that of our doctrines", they said Mass in Chaldæan, but later on they were taught the Roman ceremonies, and said it in Latin.

The Nuncio Buttigeg, not knowing that the Bishop of Goa took it for granted that Malabar was under his own jurisdiction, had brought these men from Chaldea, that they might govern the Syrian Christians.

Another Bishop—apparently a heretic—had come after them from Chaldea, and was already doing much mischief in Malabar.

They too, desired to go there, but good Fr. Antonio endeavoured to persuade them that "the Bishop of Guoa was the Bishop of Malabar and the whole of India, and of all the parts of the Orient conquered by Your Majesty, and that no one without his leave could interfere with the Christians of those parts".

Thus he suggested that His Majesty should send a Bishop to Cochin with special powers over the Malabar Christians, and that he should ask the Pope to order the Chaldæan Patriarch, "that in no case should he send Bishops to the Malabaris".

After 18 months Mar Joseph was allowed to go to Cochin with Ambrose Buttigeg—the Nuncio—and Antonino Zahara. Buttigeg died, and Joseph with Zahara went among the Syrian Christians of the Serra. We still have Zahara's report on their work there. They introduced the Sacraments of Confession, Confirmation and Extreme Unction, which seemed to have been unknown in the Serra. Apparently they succeeded in converting the Nestorian Bishop, who was spreading his errors among the simple people, and they sent him home. (4*a*)

5. The First Jesuit Mission among the Thomas Christians (1557–60)

Almost at the same time that Mar Joseph was installed in the Serra, a Jesuit, Fr. Carneyro, had also arrived there, and was busy evangelising these centres of Christianity, which had been neglected so long. Worthy rival of Fr. Enriquez, who was working on the Fishery Coast, he hastened to learn, as well as possible, the native tongue. Then, as soon as he was sufficiently well versed in this language, he advanced alone towards the mountains at great risk of his own life, visiting the Christians, finding occasions to preach to them, especially on feast-days, remaining constantly at everyone's beck and call. His charming and affectionate manners made them draw near to him and confide in him.

It was something novel and unheard of for these poor Christians to see a missionary coming to them poor and in want, solely desirous of reminding them of their duty as Christians, and devoting himself to the good of their souls. Attracted by such a great novelty and won by so much affability, these people, simple at heart, listened to this preacher and easily allowed themselves to be persuaded. He, in turn, preached to them of morals, penance, confession, devotion to the Holy Eucharist and to the Blessed Mother of God, and submission to the Soverign Pontiff of Rome. The Father had an opportunity of baptising several children as well as adults.

Now Jesuit historians are unanimous in relating how Fr. Carneyro met with terrible opposition from Mar Joseph. After the testimony of Fr. Antonio da Porto, and from the fact that Mar Joseph had come to Malabar with the Papal Nuncio Ambrose Buttigeg, and had worked in the Serra with Antoninus Zahara, we would expect him to have been perfectly orthodox. Well, we are told that little by little he changed his ways, and while at first he had behaved well, later on he began to preach that the confession of sins was a superfluous and useless practice, devotion to images was idolatry, and the veneration of the Blessed Virgin as Mother of God, when she was really only the Mother of Christ, flagrant impiety. Divided thus between the two preachers the poor people no longer knew whom to believe. Father Carneyro

burned with the desire to meet his adversary and to challenge him to a public discussion. But the cunning wolf sought only to avoid him, flying hither and thither from wherever the Father pursued him, and finally seeking refuge with a pagan Rajah. There too, the Father followed him and persuaded the Rajah to arrest him as a disseminator of errors and a disturber of the public peace. But this was not easy, for the Chaldæan party had gathered some 2,000 desperadoes, who had sworn to protect the life of Mar Joseph at the risk of their own. Yet it was felt to be somewhat undignified on the part of Mar Joseph to be always dodging Fr. Carneyro, and refusing to have a public disputation with him. One was arranged at Angamale; but when all was ready, Joseph was not to be found. At this juncture the Patriarch of Ethiopia, Joao Nunez Barreto, to whom Father Carneyro had been assigned as Suffragan, warned of the dangers with which so precious an auxiliary was menaced, bade him go immediately to Goa, there to receive his consecration as Bishop of Nice.

In consequence, Father Carneyro went to Cochin ready to depart, but as he was walking one day, fearless and careless, in the outskirts of the town, an arrow shot from behind him and aimed at his head, just pierced his biretta. Mar Joseph was finally apprehended and brought to Cochin. There he was met by Father Belchior Nunez Barreto, who had recently returned from Japan, and who forced him to make a public confession and retractation of his errors. But the Portuguese had learned by this time how little faith was to be placed in the sincerity of such people, and the Vicar-General of Cochin, even after such a retractation, not trusting his good faith, sent him under escort to Goa from where he was sent to Lisbon. Not in the least disconcerted by such a misfortune, Mar Joseph knew so well how to gain the confidence of Queen Catharine and Cardinal Henry by his charming manners and his professions of faith, that he obtained from them the commission to return to India, after having made many promises to promptly purify his diocese from all heresy. He came back in 1565, but only to begin once more his heretical preaching. He was then denounced directly to the Pope, who commanded an enquiry to be made concerning his doctrines. This enquiry was one of the principal objects of the "First Council of

GOA" held in 1567. All the accusations made against Mar Joseph were found to be true and in consequence he was sent back to Portugal. Not only did he succeed once more in proving his entire innocence, but having gone from Portugal to Rome he was, it is said, on the point of being created Cardinal when death put an end to his career. Meanwhile Fr. Carneyro left Malabar, where he had worked much but gathered little. Besides some hundred Baptisms, mainly of little children, and the reduction of two villages to the true faith, the first Jesuit Mission in the Serra could not register other successes. (5)

6. JESUIT MISSIONS IN COCHIN AND TRAVANCORE

Happier were the results in Cochin and along the Coast. Till about this time (1560) the Rajah of Cochin, though friendly to the Portuguese, had always refused to appoint converts to Government offices. Further, they were deprived of their lawful inheritance, and cut off from their families. Conversion to Christianity was a degradation, good, perhaps, for Mucuvars and Pulayas, but an abomination for Brahmins and Nayars.

But now the Rajah, pressed by the Captain of Cochin, granted ample freedom to embrace the Law of Christ, and removed ancient disabilities. There was strong opposition on the part of powerful Brahmins, but their efforts were foiled by the Captain of Cochin, who supported the Rajah.

The Fathers were overjoyed, and they could count no less than 100 converts every month, from among the Brahmins and the Nayars. They even baptised 19 Chinese, who had come to Cochin for reasons of commerce.

GEORGE THEMUDO, O.P., Bishop of Cochin, in a letter to Fr. Laynez, General of the Society, writes as follows:— "Justice and equity move me to write to your Paternity, that you may know of the great spiritual fruit which your sons are gathering in these parts of India. By their solicitude, good example, virtue and prayers, some are converted to the faith, others, already converted, leave their sins, and come back to the observance of the Law of Christ. In short, one can see that this Society has come from God; for it is impossible

to relate how much these Fathers are doing in spreading the Kingdom of God. They not only labour, but spend their lives, for the conversion of the infidels. And because I see all this with my own eyes, I love them so that I am all united with them, and make use of their wise counsels to fight and overcome the devil."

Greater still were the fruits of the Fathers' labours in Quilon and all along the coast of Travancore. In a short time they built 19 churches; and the Baptisms, especially of children, were always numerous. Notable was the conversion of a Yogi, who assumed the name of Ignatius. He lived with the Fathers; gave every day three hours to meditation and prayer, and did great penance. "For", he used to say, "it would be shameful to be more remiss in the service of God, than I was in that of the devil".

A boy, shortly after his conversion, was forcibly taken home by his parents. But he ran away, and, while crossing a forest, he met a tiger. The poor boy remembered to invoke the name of Jesus, and to fortify himself with the sign of the Cross. The tiger, as if forgetful of his natural ferocity, came near him, and like a little dog, licked his hands, and showed him signs of affection.

Most of the converts in Travancore were fishermen, and the Fathers divided the work of instruction—the mornings for women and children, and the evenings for the men, who, just come back from the sea, left boats and nets to their womenfolk, and sat down to listen to the Fathers.

Padre Nicolo Lancillotti started a Catechists' school at Quilon, where a good number of young men were trained in Christian doctrine; and they spread all along the Travancore Coast, helping the Fathers in visiting the villages and teaching the people.

Four villages, situated in the interior, sent a deputation to Fr. Francis Perez, asking him to go and baptize them. He could have had 4,000 people, but, being unable to leave his Christians on the Coast, and devote all his energy to them, he instructed 400 and left the rest to the Catechists and the Fathers, who would eventually come to his help. Also the Rajah of Travancore desired to have a Church built in

Mamolin. The Queen was opposed, but finally the Church was built, in spite of her.

The Rajah was the nephew of Uniketrevizi (?) who was so friendly with Xavier, and had inherited from him a deep respect for Christianity and a special devotion to the Holy Name of Jesus. Fr. Perez, who was his special friend, gave him a banner with the name of Jesus embroidered on it. He carried it in battle against the Bisnagar troops, who had invaded his kingdom. He was successful, and, in gratitude to Fr. Perez, he granted him full freedom to preach and make converts throughout his dominions. (6).

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

1 *Cf.* DANVERS, *The Portuguese in India*, p. 513, sqq. PANIKKAR, *Malabar and the Portuguese*, p. 128, sqq. G. M. MORAES, *Mangalore—A Historical Sketch*, 1927. F. DE SOUSA, *Oriente Conquistado*, Vol. I, p. 18, sqq. *Cf.* also BARTOLI, *op. cit.*, lib. VII, pp. 163–68.

2 *Cf.* MAFFEI-MOORE, *History of the Diocese of Mangalore*, pp. 6–9. *Bullarium Patronatus Portugaliæ*, Ulisiponæ, 1868. MACKENZIE, *op. cit.*, pp. 17–24; Notes from p. 67 to p. 73. *Histoire Orientale par Gouvea. Bruxelles, Rutger*, 1609, p. 78, etc. F. DE SOUSA, *Or. Conq.*, Vol. I, pp. 72, 77, 123, 125.

3 *Cf.* G. SCHURHAMMER, S.J., *The Malabar Church and Rome*, p. 34.

4 The Portuguese Text of the letter is given in BELTRAMI (*op. cit.*), pp. 40-43. We give here Fr. Heras's translation, *Examiner*, *Feb.* 19, 1938.

"Sire",

"May the good and holy Jesus in His infinite mercy and goodness give Your Majesty what all of us desire from Him for our souls, Amen, etc.

The Governor Francisco Barreto, when he came here last year, in November 1556, told me that it was necessary in the service of God and Your Majesty that I should have in my company some Chaldæan Bishops and a companion; these I had with me in the manner in which he ordered me; and did for them all the charity that I could, although it was not as much as they deserved, because I could do no better. To-day, twentieth of November, 1557, I was given a letter of the Governor in which he told me to send them to him that he might bestow on them the charity and honour which they deserved; I asked them their intention and they told me that that they were going to see Your Majesty and thence to Rome; from this it seemed to me that they wanted that I should give Your Majesty an account of themselves and what I thought of their faith and life. As regards faith, granted that I do not know much, I think I know what is proper of a good Christian; I discussed with them many times passages of both the Old and New Testaments, and found that their point of view conformed with that of our doctrines, and as regards the literal meaning I found they had as much faith as those who were born and lived in the place where the events took place. In morals and in the moral sense, they know what is necessary, but they are not as versed as we are usually, but for whatever they are asked, they give reasons, because they have books of our St. Gregory of Nazianzen and of St. Basil, and of many other doctors in agreement with our Latin doctrine. In the articles of Faith and the Sacraments of our Holy Mother the Church, I often discussed with them what is fundamental and necessary, and in no way or word found them differing from us. As regards their life and good habits they were such that they were a good example not only to myself, but to the new Christians of this country, and the Moors were astonished at their good life and their good doctrine and practice. The Portuguese, being more enlightened, were so edified by their good life and practice that few spoke with them once without returning to speak again; and many cherished for them great devotion and visited them many times, although they lived in this jungle. They are men who do not eat meat, because they belong to the order of St. Basil, as observed by the Carthusians; they do not eat fish either in Lent, or in Advent, or on the days of fasting, nor do they drink wine on these days. They are very quiet and retiring, so that they do not get out unless absolutely necessary, spending all their time in prayer and contemplation and in studying the Sacred Scripture and the saintly doctors on Scripture, which they have. When they came here to this house of our Lady of Piety, they very devoutly said Mass in Chaldæan, which they sang, and the person who serves Mass says almost as much as the one who says it, and they said it with such devotion that all those who heard them were very much edified. However, having found them in complete agreement with us, I thought that they might also do so in this very holy Sacrifice of the Mass; hence I taught them the ceremonies of Mass, which they learnt with such devotion and diligence that, when the feast of the Resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ came, they said Mass with such devotion and clearness, that I and all those who heard them were surprised. And thenceforward they said it in Latin, and never in Chaldæan: it is not strange that their pronunciation is like that of Italians or Frenchmen. Before they said Mass in Latin, I made them say many "dry" (trial) Masses, at which I was present, and when they said it at the altar, I accompanied them for many days; later they served each other and now they already say Mass with any person to serve them, just like any of our Priests. They are

men of a very spiritual conversation and far from any malice either in words or in deeds. This is what I thought of them, and because it seemed to me that Your Majesty would be pleased with this information, I write to you.

The other news of Christianity in this land I do not write here, because I have decided to do so by other means, as this letter is written only to convey what I have said above. The Bishop who takes this is called Mar Elias, which means Dom Elias. As in their language Mar means Sir, and Maria means Madam. The other one is called Mar Joseph and their companion, who has not said Mass yet, is named Mar Manoel; they are all honourable men, and the most noble of their land. As I was informed, they were brought to this land by an Italian Bishop called Dom Ambrosio, who was a Friar of St. Dominic, who went from Rome by the order of Pope Julius to the lands of these men as a Nuncio with the Patriarch who came to do homage to the Pope in the name of the Christians of those lands. He brought these Bishops with him thinking that it would do them good to be in Malabar, but this was not the case; and after them there came to Malabar another Bishop from the same country, who did a lot of harm and mischief among those people; but the Governor never succeeded in laying hands on him. They told me that if they went to Malabar, they hoped to make him leave Malabar and return to his country. I advised them as well as I could and pointed out to them the reasons why they should not go to Malabar, one of the reasons being that, as they well knew, no Bishop could enter the Bishopric of another to attend to his folk, and that the Bishop of Guoa (Goa) was the Bishop of Malabar and the whole of India, and of all the other parts of the Orient conquered by Your Majesty, and that no one without his leave could interfere with the Christians of those parts, and that those who went to minister the Sacraments to the Christians of Malabar without the leave of the Bishop of Goa were thieves who did not enter through the door into the sheep-pen. Therefore, they promised not to interfere, whether much or little, in Malabar, but that they would try to speak to the Chaldæan Bishop of the place to make him return to his land, as they considered his presence in Malabar an offence to God, as the Christians of Malabar no longer needed them as they did before, because they had Portuguese Priests and their own Bishop sent by the Pope of Rome to whom they gave allegiance. I think Mar Elias will return to his land; because I find he is quite fed up; Mar Joseph, I think, will go with his companion to see Your Majesty, thence to Rome, and from Rome to his land.

"They, as I have said, already know how to say Mass in Latin and have learnt the ceremonies of our Bishops. I think with reason that they would do some good in Malabar, always going about with our Priests and doing everything as our Bishops, because the Christians of Malabar are very fond of these Chaldæan Bishops. But now I think that they will do nothing but what the Governor and Vicar-General wish them to do, and will work to send the other one, who is there, back to his land. For these reasons and to pacify the Christians of Malabar, it is very necessary that Your Majesty should send a Bishop of Cochin, with special powers from the Pope over the Christians of Malabar, although they may be in the Kingdom of the Hindu monarchs, and thus it is necessary that Your Majesty should send a memorandum to the Pope to order the Chaldæan Patriarch, who has given him his allegiance, that in no case should he send Bishops to the Malabaris; but that if the Malabaris should ask for them that he should tell them to obey the Bishop of Guoa, who is their Bishop by the order of the Pope, whom he obeys. These things I write to Your Majesty thinking that you will be pleased to know them. May Our Lord add to Your Majesty days of life as I wish it.—Amen.

"At Salcette of Bassein, to-day, the twentieth of November 1557."

Humble servant of Your Majesty,
FREI ANTONIO DE PORTO.

[4a] For the text of Antonio Zahara's Report to Pope Pius IV, see Beltrami, *op. cit.*, pp. 47–48.

[5] *Cf. Or. Conquistado. Conq.* 1, Div. 2, pp. 34–35, Item, P. II, Conq. 1, Div. 2, pp. 23, 24.

Cf. also BARTOLI, *op. cit.*, lib. VIII, pp. 180–86.

Pope Pius V commands an inquiry to be made about Mar Joseph in a Brief to the Archbishop of Goa, Jan. 15, 1567. We add here FR. VINCENZO's judgment on Mar Joseph: "The time in which the Divine Goodness had determined to enlighten these souls now drawing near, that the matter should not be wholly amorfous, God began to give it some better disposition through a Nestorian Bishop, called Joseph. This man, who at bottom was a heretic, was, however, of better feelings than the previous Bishops. He removed many errors from the Mass, declared some censures void, introduced the sacred vestments, counselled Confession, and corrected many other false opinions" (VIAGGIO, pp. 139–40).

[6] *Cf.* BARTOLI, *op. cit.*, lib. VIII, pp. 186–92.

CHAPTER V

EVENTS PRECEDING THE SYNOD OF DIAMPER

(1564–1597)

1. Mar Joseph and Mar Abraham

During the first journey of Mar Joseph to Europe, the Thomas Christians, doubting that he would ever come back, sent a deputation to Abdiso, the Catholic Patriarch of Babylon, asking for a new Bishop. Abdiso sent them Mar Abraham, who, having eluded the vigilance of the Portuguese, entered the Serra, where he was received with great rejoicings. But at the same time Mar Joseph returned from Rome carrying with him a Brief from Pope Pius IV (27th June 1564), where he is exhorted to teach the Malayalees "the same faith and doctrine which the Patriarch (Abdiso) professed in Rome".

No sooner did Joseph arrive than the Thomas Christians were split into two parties. Joseph appealed to Portugal, which succeeded in securing Abraham, and sending him to Europe. In Mozambique Abraham escaped, and went to Mesopotamia. From a letter of Abdiso to the Archbishop of Goa (24th August 1567) we learn that while he remained with Abdiso "he helped him much in everything and in all obedience due to the great Church of Rome; and after we had consecrated him Metropolitan, we sent him, with our own letters, to our Lord Pope Pius IV".

Portuguese—and even Jesuit Historians, who generally favour Mar Abraham—relate that when he reached Rome he told the Pope that his episcopal ordination was invalid, for, while Abdiso had believed him to be a Priest, he was not even a cleric. Pope Pius IV tried to remedy the situation without wounding the deceived Patriarch, and, after a satisfactory profession of faith, had all the Holy Orders conferred on Abraham in the Curia itself. He was then sent back to India with letters from the Pope to the Archbishop of Goa (23rd February 1565), where, after having praised the faith and

piety of Abraham, the Pope says that he had exhorted the Patriarch (Abdiso) "to divide the Diocese (of the Serra), which belonged to him, and which touches the Diocese of Cochin, between Abraham and another man (Joseph); and the Archbishop is asked to see to it, that what the Patriarch should decide about them both, should be observed and given effect to".

On the 24th of August 1567, Abdiso writes to the Archbishop of Goa that he has decreed "with the help of the Most Holy Trinity, by the Will of God and of the Holy Roman Church, mother of the Churches and by his own will and with that authority which was communicated to him by the same Church and was received from Pope Pius IV, to divide and give to the person who is carrying his letters, Mar Abraham, Metropolitan, half the flock of his Syrians in the Indies and the other half to Mar Joseph, his son and brother. And let Angamala belong to Mar Abraham, a portion more, for his trouble, that he went to our Lord the Pope, and so the Pope ordered, with that half which is near Gamila".

In the meantime Joseph—as we have written already—is again suspected of heresy, taken and sent to Rome, where he dies in 1569. Abdiso, in the decree quoted above, had determined that, should either Joseph or Abraham die, or go elsewhere, the one who should remain in the Serra, should govern the whole flock.

But when, in 1568, Mar Abraham reached Goa, the Archbishop, Frey Giorgio Themudo, O.P., and the Viceroy, convinced that the Pope had been misinformed, apprehended him and confined him in the Dominican Convent.

2. Mar Abraham in Malabar

During Holy Week he made his escape, and reached Malabar, where, having presented his Bulls to the Jesuits and to the authorities in Cochin, he was allowed to take possession of his See. Goa, for the moment let the affair pass.

Mar Abraham reordained all the Priests, whom he had ordained during his previous stay in Malabar. He, however, took care to keep at a safe distance from the Portuguese, of whom he was highly suspicious. In the year 1575 he was invited to the second council of Goa. Since he held himself

to be independent of Goa, he refused to go, and sent an explanation of his conduct to the Pope. He also induced the Rajah of Cochin to write to the Pope (2nd January 1576) that he could not go to Goa, for he had been oppressed by the Portuguese, and imprisoned twice, and so he could not trust them. Since, however, he was an obedient son of the Holy See, if the Pope secured him, he would be present at the future Councils, and would communicate with the Portuguese Prelates and Religious, with great utility to the Christians. On the 21st December 1576 the Pope answered to the Rajah, thanking him. He said, however, "As to the Archbishop of Angamala we cannot decide anything, because we do not know by what injustice he could be deterred to go to the Provincial Synod, where he is called, or for what reasons he was imprisoned twice. When we shall know anything with certainty, we shall settle what we shall understand to be according to justice, and we shall not allow any injury to be done unto him".

3. Mar Abraham and the Jesuits

One year later Mar Abraham writes again to Rome, sending his profession of faith, complaining of the ill-treatment he had received at the hands of the Portuguese and explaining how well he had been received in Cochin, owing chiefly to the good offices of the Jesuits. He continues: "As to what Your Holiness recommends to me through Philip Card. of Como about the Society, I shall diligently carry out. For I trust that the faith and religion of the Jesuits will be to me of great help to recall this Province to the true faith, to the obedience and customs of the Holy Roman Church, and to maintain it in the same. To attain this object, I have granted a written faculty to the Fathers of the Society to stay and work in my Diocese, according to their Institute. As I understood from the letters of Your Holiness to the Rajah of Cochin, Your Holiness desires more information about my affairs. I have therefore asked the General of the Society to do so, to present my profession of faith, and to explain why I refused to be present at the Council of Goa. As to the rest, I earnestly beg Your Holiness to protect me from every fear and injury, and to vindicate ancient freedom and dignity" (From the College of the Society of Jesus in Cochin, 3rd January 1578). The

Pope wrote both to the Archbishop of Goa and to the King of Portugal, recommending to them to treat Mar Abraham well, and he exhorted Mar Abraham to attend the Councils, where he would be treated according to his dignity.

4. The First Decree of the Third Session of the Council of Goa

The first decree of the third session of the second council of Goa reads as follows:—"For the welfare of the Thomas Christians who live in Malabar, it is convenient that the Diocese should be governed by a Prelate presented by the King of Portugal, and not by the Chaldæan Patriarch; for otherwise many abuses penetrate amongst them. Or at least the Council should ask His Holiness that the Archbishop of Angamale, having no Suffragan Bishops, and being difficult for him to go to Syria, owing to the long distance, should be bound to attend the Council of this Province".[1]

It is plain that the framers of the decree desired to do away with the interference of the Babylonian Patriarchs in the affairs of the Malabar Church, for past experience had shown that one could never be sure whether it was the Catholic Patriarch of Mossul, or the Nestorian Patriarch of the House of Mama, who sent their representatives to Malabar. As long as the door remained open it was to be expected that both would send their men to India. And if Mossul was fairly safe, the Patriarchs of the House of Mama were surely heretical. Secondly it would have been more dignified, more in conformity with the wide jurisdiction given by the Popes to the Primate of the East, and it would have served Portuguese interests better, to have the Syrian Christians subject to the Padroado. Mar Abraham must have seen that this resulted in making of him a Suffragan of Goa, thus placing him more and more under the unwelcome supervision of the Archbishop. To escape it he laid out his plans most cleverly. First of all he endeavoured to gain the sympathy of Pope Gregory XIII to whom he sent a correct Profession of Faith. Next he warned the Patriarch of Mossul, that his jurisdiction over India was in danger, and so was the revenue, which he obtained from

[1] *Cf.* Bullarium App. 1; p. 43.

Malabar. To strengthen his case he managed to get the signatures of the most influential Christians of the three main centres of the Serra to a very tendentious petition addressed to the Mossul Metropolitan. They affirmed that the Thomas Christians were so numerous and so widely scattered about, that not only one, but five Bishops would be necessary to rule over them. As to giving them a Latin Bishop, it was absolutely impossible, considering the attachment of the Thomas Christians for the Babylonian Prelates. Should a Latin Bishop dare to come among them, his very life would be in danger.

5. The Jesuits at Vaipicota

We have seen how Mar Abraham wrote to the Pope, telling him that he intended to make use of the Jesuits in the work of reform of the Christians of the Serra. The Pope, who knew with what fruit the Jesuits had been working at the reform of the Church in Italy, in France, in Germany, congratulated the Archbishop upon his wise determination; "For we know", he says, "the zeal of the members of that Order for the glory of God and the salvation of souls, and the fruit with which they labour".[2]

In 1576 the great Visitator of the East, Fr. Alessandro Valignani paid a visit to Mar Abraham, offered him costly presents, and showed him such marks of esteem and respect that the Archbishop gave the most ample powers to the Fathers to exercise their ministry in the Serra, and at the same time exhorted these Christians to obey the Fathers in all things.

In 1577 the house of Vaipicota was founded and a poor church was erected there in honour of the true Cross. Fr. Bernardino Ferrario and a Malabar Priest, Fr. Pedro Luis, were the first to live in the new residence at Vaipicota. Their first great Mission was carried on in 1578 on the occasion of an extraordinary Jubilee granted by Pope Gregory XIII. The Missionaries did not miss their opportunity to explain to the people the necessity of the Sacrament of Penance, and the reasons why the Roman Church gave Communion under one kind only. On the day of the feast more than 1,000 received Holy Communion. In the evening Vespers were sung according to both rites—Latin and Syriac—and a grand procession crowned the festivities. Finally more than 5,000 Rosaries, which the Pope had sent to the Archbishop and his Vicar-General or Archdeacon, were distributed to the people. Meanwhile the Residence of Vaipicota developed rapidly. In 1581 Fr. George de Castro, with alms gathered from among the Portuguese and with the help of the Rajah of Cochin, who had a sincere admiration for him, replaced the humble Church with a more beautiful one, and added to it a residence, which soon developed into a Seminary. In 1584 Fr. Francis Roz—the future Bishop of Angamale—added to the course of Theology a course of Syro-Chaldaic, of which he himself was the Professor. The best Catenars used to come to Vaipicota, to study under Fr. Roz, and we are informed that a General Confession of all their past sins was the usual prelude to admission to the course.

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[2] Gregory XIII, 29th November 1578.

While the Fathers were thus working in Malabar, they did not neglect to keep Rome well informed of the affairs of the Serra. In fact from a Memorial presented to the Pope by the Cardinal of Como, Tolomeo Galli, we learn that the Fathers, knowing well that "the reduction of the Thomas Christians to the obedience of Rome depended in great part on the good dispositions of the Archbishop and his Archdeacon had warmly begged the Supreme Pontiff to show his pleasure to them both for their obedience and profession of faith, and while exhorting them to attend the Council of Goa, to assure them that they would be well received".

In fact they went so far as to ask the Pope, that, should Mar Abraham come to die, Archdeacon George should be appointed Administrator Sede Vacante, "for he was a worthy person, and quite capable of administering the Diocese". By a Brief of the 3rd of January 1579 the Pope confirmed to George de Christo, Archdeacon of Angamale, the right to rule the Diocese *sede vac.* The same year Mar Abraham asked for the pallium, which, however, was not granted, because he had received his nomination from the Chaldæan Patriarch, and not from Rome. The motives underlying this request are set forth in a *Memorial* presented to His Holiness by Card. Santori; *i.e.,* the Fathers of the Society and the Portuguese desired that Abraham should conform to the Latin rite, also

they wanted him to know the dignity of the pallium, further they intended to increase his authority with the people against a heretical rival, and finally they meant to promote little by little the subjection of the Diocese to the Holy See.

6. Mar Abraham and Mar Simon

The fears of the Portuguese that, unless the door was absolutely closed against the coming of Syrian Prelates into the Serra, those poor Christians would be for ever exposed to the danger of heresy, were justified. In fact a Nestorian Bishop, Simon by name, who had been sent to Malabar by the Patriarch of the House of Mama, established his See at Caduthuruthy, in the territory of the Zamorin. Mar Abraham excommunicated him, but in vain. He then appealed to the Archbishop of Goa, Henry de Tavora, who in his turn wrote to Rome. Rome (13th October 1578) answered granting to the Archbishop the faculty to examine Simon, and all the Prelates who should land in India; to make sure that they had their letters and faculties in order, invoking for that end the help of the secular arm. There are three other Briefs of Pope Gregory XIII, one (4th March 1580) directed to Archdeacon George, another (undated) directed to the clergy and people of Angamale, and a third one (5th March 1580) directed again to the clergy and the people. "We then", writes the Pope "being most anxious about your salvation, and the tranquillity of your Church, exhort you, and by the power given to us by Christ, command you, not to allow yourselves to be infected by this pest. Shun him, avoid his conversation, abhor him as the enemy and destroyer of the Catholic Faith, of your salvation and of Christ's glory, expel him from your midst, do not allow him to remain in your country. And do the same with the other heretics and schismatics, lest, infected by their pestilent doctrine, you should perish". But Mar Simon had friends. Not only did he find help from pagan Rajahs and discontented Christians, but also from inexperienced and meddlesome religious. From a letter written by Mar Abraham to the Pope (13th January 1584) we learn that Mar Simon had been invited to a Provincial Council, but there *"Intromissis doubus beati Francisci observantiæ Religiosis, extraneis novisque in hac terra, et absque experientia actorum adversus hominem istum"*, he had been absolved and received as true Bishop. Finally he was caught by the Portuguese. But, with the advice of the Franciscans, he appealed to the Pope, and, *via* Lisbon, he went to Rome. There he was instructed in the faith, and later on Pope Xistus V entertained some idea of sending him back to India. It was not the first time—and it will not be the last—that the Curia was deceived by these cunning wolves.

Luckily some letters found on him revealed that he was not even a Priest, though he had exercised episcopal functions. He was sent back to Lisbon, where he died in the Franciscan Monastery of the Holy Family in 1599.

7. The Synod of 1583

Meanwhile the Fathers at Vaipicota were continuing the work of the Missions among the people and of the formation of the Priests. Fr. Roz was the adviser of Mar Abraham, and taught him the Canons of the Church and the writings of the Fathers, while the Archbishop helped him to perfect his Chaldaic. Even the Archdeacon, though somewhat suspicious of the Fathers, and fretting because Mar Abraham delayed to consecrate him Bishop of Palur, to which See he had been nominated by Rome, came in secret to Fr. Roz, or sent his Catenars, to question him about some doubts.

In the *Annual Letters* of those days we read an interesting detail. Fr. Roz discovered in a book written in 1200 by Mar Audixo, Bishop of Saigar, 50 Canons of the Council in Nicea. Since the same Canons were later on discovered in Arabic by Fr. J. B. Romano and in Greek by Fr. A. Pisano, there remains no reasonable doubt as to their authenticity. 47 deal with the government of the Church and the rest with Monasteries.

The Seminary of Vaipicota became more and more famous. Card. Gesualdo, in a Report presented to the Holy See, says of it: "There is a Seminary staffed by the Fathers of the Society, in which live 50 or 60 students belonging to the descendants of those who were converted to the true faith by the Apostle St. Thomas. They are taught the humanities, Latin and Chaldaic, the Cases of Conscience, the rudiments of the Catholic Faith and of the Liturgy. From the same

Seminary many have already come forth fairly well instructed; and some have been raised to the Priesthood."

The Fathers appealed to the King to help the Seminary, and he bestowed some moneys, sufficient for the maintenance of two Fathers and a further grant of 300 *patacas* a year (about Rs. 300) to maintain 30 students.

Some Ecclesiastics objected to the teaching of Syro-Chaldaic, and even wrote to Rome about it. The Pope answered that Syro-Chaldaic must continue to be taught "for the variety of rites is one of the ornaments of the Church, who is like a Queen, clad in varied garments".

As a fitting crown to this peaceful work of union and reform, where the legitimate aspirations of Malabar were fully respected, a Provincial Synod was convoked in the Cathedral of Angamale, in 1583. Those present at the Synod were Mar Abraham, Archdeacon George, all the Clergy of Angamale and the Suffragan Churches, and many of the principal Christians of the Serra. The two Fathers of Vaipicota, Fr. Pedro Luis and Fr. George de Castro were also present. Fr. Pedro Luis celebrated low Mass in Latin and was followed by Joao Catenar, the brother of the Archdeacon, in Syriac. Then followed a solemn declaration of the errors and customs of the Serra, contrary to the Roman Church. Thereupon Mar Abraham read in Malayalam the Profession of Faith. The reforms were decreed upon unanimously, though everybody was free to make his remarks. In this manner the Thomas Christians could have gradually been freed from the errors which infected them, had not the devil continued among them his work through a certain Mar Jacob, whom Simon had left in Malabar as his Vicar-General.

8. The Third Council of Goa (1585)

The first Decree of the Council reads as follows:—"Dom Frey Vicente da Fonseca, by the grace of God and the Holy Roman Church Archbishop Metropolitan of Goa, with the advice and consent of the most Rev. Lords, D. Mar Abraham, Archbishop of Angamale, and D. Matheus, Bishop of Cochin *"Comprovinciaes"*, declares this third Provincial Council of Goa, gathered by us and convoked in this noble city, this Sunday, day of the Holy Ghost, the 9th of June 1585, to be begun for the glory and honour of the Most Holy and Individual Trinity and for the reformation of this our Province". The troubles which Mar Abraham had with Mar Jacob, had brought him nearer to the Primate of Goa, and had been one of the reasons why he had accepted the invitation to the Council. Jacob, though a simple Priest, was exercising episcopal functions, was teaching heresy, was defying the authority of Mar Abraham, was introducing division and schism into the unhappy Serra. Since he was helped and sheltered by the Zamorin, it was not easy to get hold of him. Still with the help of the Primate and of the Portuguese he was finally taken, and died in 1596.[3]

The help which Mar Abraham was receiving from the Primate against Jacob would have been insufficient to bring him to Goa, had not Fr. Valignani assured him that he would have been treated well, and that his dignity would have been respected. He sailed together with the Father, but only after Fr. Valignani had given his word that he would have brought him back to the Serra. Further Fr. A. Pachecho obtained for him from the King an annual pension of 400 crusados.

The ten decrees of the Third Session of the Council regard the Archdiocese of Angamale and the Thomas Christians.

The first is a profession of faith against the Nestorian heresy. The second urges that Christian community to provide for the convenient maintenance of its Priests, and it asks the King to give to Angamale a yearly grant of 1,000 crusados. The third provides that no one be ordained if he has not attained the canonical age. The Priests should be chaste, learned. Should they dare to marry, they are excommunicated. They must dress properly. They must avoid simony. As the King of Portugal, in a letter of the 21st of January 1588, exhorts the Viceroy to help towards the establishment of a Seminary for the Serra, so the Council, three years previously, urges the Archbishop to strain every nerve so that the Seminary be established and conveniently provided for, as the Tridentine commands, *"Para que assin sejam conforms em tudo, e unidos a sancta igreja de Roma"*. The fifth decree provides against Clerics, who leave their Diocese to

[3] As to his death *cf.* Gouvea, P. II, Col. 4.

work among the Portuguese. The sixth decree orders that a summary be made of the Canons of the Tridentine and of the two previous Councils of Goa, for the use of the Church of the Serra. The seventh decree orders the translation into Chaldaic of the Missal and Roman Breviary "*Reformados por ordem do councilio Tridentino*". Similarly that *do pontifical e sacerdotal Romano se tresladasse o neçessario para conferir, ou dar orders, e administrar sacramentos*". Also that the *Catechism*, a *Summary of Moral Theology for Confessors*, and *Prayer Books* be translated into Malayalam. The eighth decree provides that a Religious be given as Councillor of the Archbishop, to help him in the execution of the above. The Rev. Fr. Francis Roz, S.J., was chosen for the purpose. The ninth decree is against simony and usury, then rampant in the Serra. The tenth decree forbids any one coming from Chaldea in order to work among the Christians of the Serra, either as Bishop or simple Priest, to enter there without first showing his letters patent to the Archbishop of Goa.

Mar Abraham signed the Decrees of the Council on the 24th November 1585 and returned to Malabar, accompanied by Fr. Francis Roz, S.J.

9. The Tragedy of Mar Abraham

One year after the Council of Goa, Fr. Roz wrote his Treatise "*De Erroribus Nestorianorum*". There he says: "The Nestorians who live in the East Indies, though they had professed the Catholic faith, have yet their books full of errors of Nestorius, Theodore of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia. Since all this is not unknown to the Archbishop Mar Abraham, (for he is well acquainted both with the Roman faith and the Nestorian Doctrine) he makes us very suspicious about his orthodoxy. Whilst he was in Goa, he promised to correct the Syrian books; in fact, he took an oath to do so. But he fell away from the truth, and now he cares nothing about it. God grant that he may come to his senses, and that he may embrace the Catholic Faith in thought, word and deed".[4]

Fr. Roz, as the official counsellor of Mar Abraham, must have had countless opportunities of acquainting himself with

[4] Quoted in Beltrami, pp. 112–13.

the real state of affairs. He was a trained theologian and well versed in the languages both of the country and of the liturgy. His testimony is very serious. Fr. Roz was not a Portuguese, but a Spaniard, and it is not likely that he should have been influenced by Portuguese prejudice. We shall now give another testimony of the Ven. Fr. Abraham di Giorgio, S.J., who was martyred in Ethiopia in 1595. He was an Armenian, and naturally well disposed to the Syrian Christians. Writing to Fr. General Acquaviva, on the 15th December 1593, he says: "My Father, till now I have wandered throughout this Serra of San Thome, with other companions, hearing confessions, administering the Sacraments, etc., according to the good customs of the Society. The fruit which we obtain among this people is very great, as can be gathered from the letters of Fr. Provincial, Francis Cabral, etc. Yet I shall not cease to beg with all my heart and with tears that Your Paternity should deign to help the great needs of this poor Christian people, both in temporal and spiritual things; and chiefly (as Your Paternity knows very well) that the Archbishop here is a heretical Nestorian, and lives worse than a pagan, a beastly and carnal life. I leave Your Paternity to conclude what disciples and ministers he will leave after himself, and what kind of doctrine he will sow. The doctrine they usually sow every day (and it is written in their books) is that:

(1) Christ O.L. is not true God, but only a man, etc., as is taught by their master Nestorius.

(2) They preach that O. Lady is not the Mother of God, and consequently she brought him forth in pain, and more, that she was not a Virgin, etc.

(3) They teach that one should not meditate or think on the Passion of our Lord, because it is a sin, and is an injury to O. Lord.

(4) They preach that one should not leave the teaching of St. Thomas and follow that of St. Peter, for they hold that each Apostle has formed a law different from the rest.

(5) This Archbishop is simoniacal, and sells the Sacraments of Christ, both openly and in secret, and gets money before he administers them, and he does this together with his ministers, etc.

(6) He induces—and sometimes forces—the Christians to communicate without previously confessing their mortal sins, etc.

(7) He says Mass, and administers the Sacraments without the sacred vestments, and often he makes another Priest say Mass, and he only consecrates.

(8) And, in short, the Churches are worse than pigsties.

(9) He makes himself more than Pope or Patriarch; and he has nothing to do with anybody.

(10) And when he writes to his Patriarch, he calls him Universal Pastor and Head of all Christendom; and the others, and the Catholics, he calls beasts and heretics, and other things against the Roman Church. And this we have come to know, because we have been very careful to stop the entry of those cursed heretical Nestorians, so that nobody should go from here to there and come here from there without our knowledge; and by this means we have found these letters, in which the above things were written. Who will not wonder, dear Father, in seeing and hearing such things? Who will not be moved to help these Christians and provide them with a good Catholic Pastor, these things being more than true? And should it be necessary that I and all our companions and other Christians of the Serra, and good Priests, who follow the Catholic Church, should swear in confirmation of the above and other heresies, in truth, we could do it all in good conscience and truth.

But this is enough for us, because we write to persons who know that we do not tell lies and that we do not seek anything else in this world, except God's Glory and the salvation of souls".[5]

The previous reports about Mar Abraham, and his relations with the Jesuits were all in his favour. How to explain this unhappy change? Future researches will probably throw some light on this mystery. In a Brief of the 27th January 1595, Pope Clement VIII affirms that he has heard of Mar Abraham's relapse with the greatest sorrow. Hence he orders the Archbishop of Goa to examine his life and doctrine; and should he be found guilty, to keep him "*Sub tuta et honesta custodia*". Meanwhile, the details of the process should be sent to Rome, and in India they should await Rome's decision. In order that the Diocese of Angamale should not suffer, the Holy See directs that a person "of the Latin Rite, who, if possible, should know Chaldaic, or Syriac" should be made Vicar Apostolic; nor should they allow that any one be received or elected as Archbishop unless he be appointed by the Holy See. The Brief of the 3rd of January 1579, in which the Archdeacon George was nominated Bishop of Palur, is forgotten, or, perhaps, purposely overlooked. At any rate, a further Brief of the 21st January 1597 arranges that, upon the death of Mar Abraham, a Vicar Apostolic be appointed.—"*Donec nos eidem ecclesiæ de pastore providerimus .... non obstantibus constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis, ac ejusdem ecclesiae angamalensis etiam juramento, confirmatione apostolica vel quavis firmitate alia roboratis statutis et consuetudinibus*".

In the year 1595 Mar Abraham fell seriously ill. According to Fr. Du Jarric, he called the Rector of Vaipicota, and in his presence recommended to the Archdeacon, to the Cassanars and to the leaders of the people to obey the Pope, and listen to the advice of the Jesuits, who were instructing them in the faith and were working for their good. He said that in the previous year he had written to the Pope and recommended his flock to him. This created a most favourable impression. Many turned earnestly to Rome, and a healthy atmosphere was created for the Fathers to preach successfully the Jubilee granted by the Pope Clement VIII.

Contrary to Gouvea, who asserts that Mar Abraham died in schism in the month of February 1597, Du Jarric asserts that he was reconciled to the Church, and died in 1595. The latter date is wrong.

Before dying he appointed Archdeacon George as Vicar of the Thomas Christians. But Archbishop Menezes, who knew his underhand dealings and his pride, would not hear of it, and nominated Fr. Francis Roz, S.J., Vicar Apostolic of the See of Angamale. Strong feelings were roused, and the Syrians would no longer permit a Latin to officiate in their Churches. The Jesuits pleaded, and Menezes finally yielded. He

[5] *Cf.* Beltrami, *op. cit.*, pp. 114–15.

acknowledged the Archdeacon as Vicar, but gave him as Counsellors, Fr. Roz and the Rector of Vaipicota. The Counsellors, however, were refused, and when George was invited to profess the Tridentine Creed he succeeded in putting it off for four months. This gave him hopes that in the meantime a Bishop might arrive from Babylon. He was disappointed, for the Portuguese kept a strict watch, and sent back a Bishop, who had travelled till Ormuz. After four months had elapsed George decided to hold on. He gathered the Cassanars at Angamale, and made them promise to obey him alone, to resist all ceremonial innovations, and to refuse all Bishops, unless they came from Babylon. The Jesuits were perturbed and showed their displeasure, but they were threatened together with their pupils. Menezes then decided to come to Malabar and see the Archdeacon personally. But the latter protested that he was ready to make his professions of faith to any, except the Jesuits. The mild Archbishop yielded, and a Franciscan was appointed for the purpose. But the wily George, relying on the latter's imperfect knowledge of Malayalam, omitted in his profession all references to the Primacy of the Pope. Menezes was dissatisfied, and insisted on George's making his profession of faith again. The Archdeacon went to Vaipim as agreed. But then later on he excused himself, and maintained that the ceremony was an empty one, for he knew no Latin, and did not understand the meaning of the profession of faith. He acknowledged the Pope only as head of the Latin Church, and Menezes as Metropolitan only of the Latins in India. The Archbishop was disgusted with all these delays and subterfuges and in 1598 decided to visit Malabar. But before we speak of the visitation, and of the famous Synod which was held at Diamper, let us give some idea of

10. The Religious Conditions of the Thomas Christians in the Sixteenth Century

Bishop Jaballaha in his report to the Patriarch of Babylon (1503) says that the number of Christian families in Malabar was 30,000. This would make the number of Christians about 150,000. They lived on the Western slopes of the Ghats, South of the river Ponani, and down to the Coast, in the territories of the Zamorin and of the Rajahs of Cochin and Travancore. The population was thickest from Quilon to Cranganore. The Portuguese will call them the Mountain Christians or Christians of the Serra. Not all agree that they were infected with Nestorianism, though most Portuguese historians will call them Nestorians. We have endeavoured to give the documents at hand, leaving the readers to judge for themselves.

The Thomas Christians venerated the Cross, but otherwise they had no images in their churches. They maintained that the souls of the faithful departed came to enjoy the Beatific Vision only after the Last Judgment. They knew Baptism, the Eucharist and Holy Orders, though there were traces of the other Sacraments as well. Baptism was administered 40 days or even one year after birth; sometimes it was delayed for years. The cause of this neglect is said to have been the exorbitant fees demanded by the Priests. Instead of olive oil and Chrism they used sesamum and cocoanut oil. They had no auricular confession; and the introduction of it at the Synod of Diamper caused trouble. The Jesuits had introduced it already at Vaipicota and in other parishes. There was a symbolic ceremony instead of Confession. Incense was burned in the church on Sundays, and the people believed that, as the incense was consumed, so their sins were destroyed.

Holy Communion was received under both species on Maundy Thursday, and on fast days. Altar breads were prepared with flour, oil, salt and wine. The wine was got from dry grapes, after soaking them in water. Mass was usually celebrated only on Sundays. There was no strict obligation to attend it. The sick were anointed with oil, which was supposed to possess a certain healing power. Marriage was monogamic and indissoluble; it was allowed to Priests, Deacons and widows. Usually the marriage was blessed by the Cassanars, and the tenth part of the dowry belonged to the Church.

The Bishop had both spiritual and temporal power. He alone ordained priests and consecrated churches, but never without payment. He was not a Malayalee but a Chaldean, sent to India by the Patriarch of Babylon. The Archdeacon was his right arm; in fact, he was all powerful, both in ecclesiastical and civil matters. He was from the country, and

practically always from the same family, though the office was not hereditary, but dependent on the votes of Bishops, clergy and people. The Clerics were very numerous, and in dress and manners could hardly be distinguished from the laity. They were often employed by Rajahs as tax-collectors, etc. They exercised no priestly functions, except for money, and they could not be ordained, unless they paid a handsome fee to the Bishop. They were all equally ignorant, and preached at most twice a year. They said the Office in Syriac. The people honoured them, and feared their punishment, chiefly excommunication.

The dead were not cremated, but buried. The survivors ate in common for eight days, and prayed for the deceased.

Though Joseph Indus mentions monks and nuns, the Portuguese found no trace of them as living in common. On certain days the people were fed in common at the expense of the Church, or of some wealthy man. Their feasts lasted from Vespers to Vespers. Besides Sunday, they celebrated Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, Low Sunday, and the Death and Translation of St. Thomas, the Apostle. They celebrated also the feasts of the other Apostles. They had great devotion to Our Lady, and honoured her Nativity, Purification and Assumption.

They honoured also some Nestorian saints. They abstained from meat on Wednesdays and Fridays. During Lent they abstained from eggs, milk, liquor and sexual intercourse. Advent was a season of penance. They fasted also from the first to the fifteenth of August, and from the first to the eighth of September, in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Fasting was of no avail if they had not bathed in the morning, or had touched a member of the lower castes.

Though interspersed with errors, their faith was comparatively pure, and their moral standards were high.

It is marvellous how they kept the faith so many centuries, though far away from the great Christian centres, and surrounded on all sides by luxuriant Hinduism.

11. Political Conditions on the West Coast (1571–1610)

Before we close this chapter we shall give a rapid survey of the political conditions on the West Coast.

Kunjale III, after the Portuguese defeat at Chale, got permission from the Zamorin to build a fortress for himself at Pudupattanam. His power grew considerably and he exercised the privileges enjoyed by Nayar Chiefs. But the Portuguese, though driven out of Chale, continued the war on the sea. In 1575 Dom Joao da Costa destroyed Parapangalem (Parappayangadi), and Nilacharam (Nileshwaram) besides slaying many hundreds of soldiers and capturing or sinking many vessels. In 1577 fifty Arab vessels carrying rice were taken, thus causing distress among the poor. In 1581 Coulete was destroyed together with Capocate, and the surrounding country was laid waste. These deeds spread terror among the people.

In 1582 Mathias de Albuquerque destroyed many small coastal villages and bombarded Calicut, Paracale, Capocate and Chatua. Then Dominic Mascarenhas twice set fire to Calicut, Ponani and other places, slaughtering a great number of people.

Six Portuguese were captured by the enemy, one of whom, when brought before the pirate Kunhale, was severed into two at one blow. Between 1583 and 1585 there seems to have been peace between the Zamorin and the Portuguese, but the war with Kunhale went on as before. He defeated the Portuguese in 1586. His nephew Musa defeated them again in 1589, and for over two years Portuguese navigation was intercepted along the coast. In 1591 Musa was desolating the Coromandel Coast, when he suffered defeat at the hands of Furtado. He saved himself by swimming, leaving his fleet in the hands of the Portuguese.

In 1594 the Queen of Ullal proposed to make peace with the Portuguese, but she refused to destroy the fortress which she had built but a short time before, as a counterpart to the Mangalore Fort, and so the peace proposals came to nought. In the same year the ship that annually was coming to Goa from China, richly laden with merchandise was attacked off the Malabar Coast. Fourteen Portuguese were on board. They were all killed, after a three days' battle. A Javanese on board, rather than allow the treasure to fall into the hands of the enemy, blew up the ship. Andre Furtado determined to avenge Portugal. In August he fell in with some of the

Zamorin's sails, laden with goods and carrying many passengers of both sexes.

It is claimed that during the engagement no less than 2,000 Indians were killed. In 1595 Mahomet Kunhale Marca succeeded Pate Marca in the possession of the Pudupattanam Fort. Knowing that the Portuguese would sooner or later attack him, he fortified himself most strongly. Feeling safe, he then assumed the title of King and carried on the struggle. He captured one of their ships that was coming from China; he aided the Queen of Ullal that had revolted again. Not content, however, with attacking the Portuguese, he plundered also the Malabar ships, thus accumulating great wealth. That perhaps determined the Zamorin to ask for peace, which was concluded in 1598 or 1599. Similarly peace was made with the Queen of Ullal. The King of Portugal, however, was informed that the "Fortress of Ullal had not been thoroughly destroyed and that in a very few days it could be reconstructed". The King ordered that the fort should be razed to the ground, and his order was carried out by Jeronymo d'Azevedo, Capitao Mor of Malabar.

CHAPTER VI

THE SYNOD OF DIAMPER

(1599)

THE Archbishops of Goa, from 1577 to 1610 were the following:

The Dominican HENRIQUE DE SAN JERONIMO DE TAVORA (1577–81) who was translated to Goa from Cochin by King Sebastian in 1577, and was confirmed as Primate of the East by Gregory XIII on January 20, 1578. He died in Chaul, May 17, 1581.

The Dominican VINCENT DA FONSECA (1583–87) was nominated by Philip II, and, having been confirmed by the Pope, he arrived in Goa in 1583. He was eminent in Philosophy and Theology, a good preacher and a nobleman. In 1585 he convoked the third Provincial Synod in which 80 Decrees were formulated, and matters relating to the Syrian Archbishop of Angamale were dealt with.

MATTHEW DE MEDINA (1587–92) of the Christus Order, Bishop of Cochin, was translated to Goa and took possession of his See on November 20, 1588. He held the IV Council of Goa in 1592, and he died in the odour of sanctity the year after. The See remained vacant for two years, during which period the Diocese was governed by the Bishop of Cochin.

ALEXIS DE MENEZES (1595–1609), Augustinian, was nominated Bishop by King Philip and confirmed by Pope Clement VIII. He was installed in Goa in 1595. He was a man of deep piety and profound learning; in fact, he was the most eminent and most celebrated Archbishop of Goa. For some time he was Governor of Goa. Between 1595 and 1609 he had three Augustinian Bishops as his Auxiliaries, and one of them, Domingo da Trinidade, Bishop of Sale, governed the Archdiocese till the arrival of the new Primate, in 1616. In 1609 Menezes was nominated by Philip III to the Primatial See of Braga in Portugal. He died in Madrid in 1617.

1. THE SYNOD OF DIAMPER

Preliminary Difficulties.—Archbishop Menezes is well known in India, chiefly in connection with the Synod of

Diamper. In Malabar, he is not popular, for he is regarded as the destroyer of their ancient rites and liberties. In Portuguese circles he is spoken of as one of the most zealous Bishops in Christendom. The following pages will relate briefly and objectively, we hope, his labours in connection with the Syrian Christians of Malabar.

Don Alexis de Menezes landed in Cochin on the first of February 1599. For two years he had tried to settle the affairs of the Serra, but, as he himself confesses in the letter of convocation of the Synod, all his efforts "did not obtain the desired effect, for in this Diocese, schism and rebellion against the Holy See had struck deep roots". He therefore had come in person with the threefold object of reducing the Serra to the obedience of Rome, of freeing it from error and of reforming the morals of Clergy and Laity. Archdeacon George was cited to come to Cochin to present himself to the Archbishop, who had promised him under oath security of person and pardon for having roused the feelings of the people against his person. George started at the head of an army, but then changed his mind, and stopped at a certain distance from the Archbishop. The latter was advised to leave Cochin, and go to Vaipicota, where he finally met George. There, by kindness and tact, he won him over so that *"Tempestatem illam in pacatissimam vertit tranquillitatem"*, "He turned the storm into the most calm tranquillity". To explain, partially at least, the storm which preceded the opening of the Council we shall recall here the opposition which the Archbishop met both from the Archdeacon and the Cassanars, when, having noticed that at the Canonical Hours the Syrians prayed for the Patriarch of Babylon but did not even mention the Pope, he forbade the practice. Further, with great difficulty he succeeded in ordaining 38 young Thomas Christians at Diamper, against the will of Archdeacon George. He then celebrated Easter at Caturte with the greatest pomp. This made a great impression on both Clergy and Laity, and many, having abjured their errors, promised obedience to the Pope's representative. This so incensed the Archdeacon that he went so far as to excommunicate the Primate.

But the Cochin Rajah, fearing lest opposition should ruin the commerce with the Portuguese, ordered the Christians to

submit to the Archbishop. George saw the danger of a continued opposition, and he wrote to Don Alexis that, though he admired the Latin Doctrine, yet he was a Nestorian, and could not help it. He considered it shameful to change from the Law of St. Thomas to that of St. Peter.

Thereupon the Archbishop assumed a severer tone, and threatened the Archdeacon with punishment, unless he changed his ways. George was frightened and answered that it was impossible for him to resist the grace of God, and so he was ready to submit. Menezes asked him to accept the following points:—

(1) Abjuration of Nestorianism. Christ is God, not because he is God's temple, or God's chosen instrument, but because his Person is the second Person of the Blessed Trinity.

(2) Declaration that the Law of St. Thomas is identical with the Law of St. Peter.

(3) Profession of faith according to the formula settled upon when he received the confirmation of his appointment as Archdeacon and Vicar.

(4) Delivery of all books owned by him or by former Archbishops, and burning of all heretical books. Books found harmless would be returned.

(5) Recognition of the Pope as head of the universal Church.

(6) Denial of the authority of the Patriarch of Babylon as head of the Nestorian Church.

(7) Only Bishops approved by the Pope to be admitted into the Serra.

(8) Oath that the Primate of Goa was his lawful superior, and that he was to be obeyed as long as no new Archbishop was appointed in the Serra.

(9) Publication of *Ollas* commanding the Cassanars to attend the Council.

(10) The Archdeacon to accompany the Archbishop in his visitation without any armed force.

The Archdeacon understood that if he signed the above points no way of escape would be left to him. He sought delay on the pretext of business with the Rajah of Mangate, which prevented him from coming to the Archbishop. The latter wrote to the Rajah and threatened him with Portuguese

displeasure, should he prevent the Archdeacon from leaving the Court. George then said he was ready to come, but not to the Fortress of Cranganore, but rather to Vaipicota. He was received with extreme kindness. He made his profession of faith, and promised on oath to keep the ten points. Finally Don Alexis, together with the Archdeacon, decided to have the Council.

2. Convocation of the Council

Whilst the Archdeacon was creating trouble, the Fathers at Vaipicota were working intensely to prepare the Council. Frs. Roz, De Castro, Toscano and Brother Giovanni Maria Campori—not yet a priest—were all well acquainted with the conditions of the Serra. They had made a thorough study of its beliefs, its customs, its superstitions. They knew both the lives of the priests and of the people, and now they endeavoured to embody their conclusions in terse decrees, which would be presented to the Council, and approved by it. The Synod was convoked at Diamper for the third Sunday after Pentecost, 20th June 1599.

The Archdeacon and the Cassanars, who were not prevented by good reasons, were commanded to be present under pain of excommunication. Further, each village had to send four lay delegates, who were empowered to make proposals in connection with the welfare of the people, to discuss them, to approve the decrees and to sign them.

Also the people were exhorted, and even commanded, to bring their quarrels before the Synod, so that the Fathers might judge according to equity.

The Synod began with the Mass "*Ad Tollendum Schisma*", which was followed by the Office "*Ad Incipiendum Concilium*".

Next the Archbishop proclaimed that he had authority to celebrate the Synod "for the See of Angamale was vacant, it had no chapter, was Suffragan to Goa, and he was the Primate for India and all the East".

Since the Archbishop did not know Malayalam, "with the consent of all" was appointed as interpreter a certain Jacob, Cassanar of the Church of Palur, "who knew both Malayalam and Portuguese", who swore on the Gospels that he would faithfully translate whatever the Archbishop had to say, and

whatever had to be reported to the Archbishop; "further, he would read faithfully the decrees and sanctions of the Synod, which were all written in Malayalam". "For greater security" to him were added by the Archbishop, Frs. Francis Roz and Antony Toscano, S.J., from the College of Vaipicota, "who, since they knew Malayalam very well, should weigh what the interpreter had to explain, and, if anything had not been translated properly into Malayalam, together with others, not belonging to the Council, both natives and Portuguese, who knew both languages, should correct it, whenever necessary".

All then were ordered that, should they know or think of anything to the good of the Diocese, they should acquaint with it the Archbishop, "in order that might be decided what was proper".[1]

3. The Acts of the Council

Besides the inhabitants of Diamper there were present 153 Cassanars and 671 Procurators of the people; surely a most representative assembly. At every meeting first the doctrine was stated, then the discipline determined, finally the decree was settled upon and read out. The discussions lasted from 7 to 11 in the morning, and from 2 to 6 in the afternoon. Priests were free to propose amendments, and Menezes answered most kindly, and willingly took advice from the people's representatives.

(*a*) *On Matters of Faith.*—On the 21st of June the Archbishop and the Cassanars made the Profession of Faith according to the formula of Pius IV, to which were added some points, having special reference to errors current in the Serra. Thus was condemned the error which maintained that the souls of the just dwelt in an earthly paradise till the day of judgment. It was declared that the Saints had to be honoured and so had their relics (*cf.* No. XIV).

Mary is truly the Mother of God, She was ever Virgin. She committed no actual sin. The Church has the power to grant indulgences. The Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Roman Church is the mother and teacher of all the Churches. To her obedience is due. The Roman Pontiff is the Vicar of Christ.

[1] *Cf. Actio* I; I, II.

Those who do not obey him are excluded from eternal salvation (*cf.* No. XV).

The Councils, and epsecially the Tridentine, are to be accepted. The errors of Nestorius are to be rejected. It is wholesome to meditate on the Passion of Christ. The Law of St. Thomas is the same as that of St. Peter (*cf.* No. XVI).

The following oath was taken by the Archdeacon and the Cassanars: "I do also promise, vow and swear to God, on this Cross and these Holy Gospels, never to receive into this Church and Bishopric of the Serra any Bishop, Archbishop, Prelate, Pastor or Governor whatsoever, but what shall be immediately appointed by the Holy Apostolic See and the Bishop of Rome, and that whomsoever he shall appoint I shall receive and obey as my true Pastor, without expecting any message or having any further dependance upon the Patriarch of Babylon" (*cf.* Nos. XVII, XVIII, XIX).

After having given the Canon of Holy Scripture as defined by the Tridentine Council, the Synod directs that some parts of the New Testament, which were omitted or changed in the Serra, be added or corrected; and entrusts the task to Fr. Roz, S.J. (*cf.* Nos. XXXV, XXXVI).

The fourth Decree (Nos. XXXVII, XXXVIII, XXXIX) deals with three errors by which the Christians were infected, owing to their constant intercourse with the Pagans. The first regards transmigration, the second *Kismet* or *Karma*, the third, that salvation can be obtained in any law, for all are right.

The fifth Decree (No. XL) indignantly repels the error, which was touched upon above, namely, that it was sinful to meditate on the Passion of Christ, and exhorts Preachers and Confessors "that very often they should persuade the people to meditate upon mysteries so sublime and divine".

At the end it exhorts all to recite the Rosary.

The sixth Decree is all about the privileges of Our Blessed Lady, the Mother of God. It is pleasant to read there that the Fathers of the Council believed in the Immaculate Conception.

The seventh Decree (No. XLII) reprobates the party slogan that the Laws of Thomas and of Peter were different. They are not different, but the same; for the Law of Christ is one, and one is the Church his Spouse, and one her visible head, the Pope of Rome.

The eighth Decree (No. XLIII) excommunicates those who will presume to continue to call the Patriarch of Babylon universal pastor and head of the Catholic Church.

Since the Breviaries used in the Serra celebrated the feasts of Nestorius and other Nestorian heroes, and since their names were mentioned in the Mass as well, the practice is reprobated, and others, mostly Oriental Saints, like Sts. Athanasius, Gregory of Nazianzen, Basil, etc., are substituted in their place (*cf.* ninth Decree; No. XLIV). The tenth Decree deals with the change of the Titular of the Church of St. Hormisda at Angamale.

The eleventh directs that in the Creed be added the words "*Deum de Deo lumen de lumine, Deum verum de Deo vero*", and that to the words "*Filius essentiœ Patris*" be substituted the words "*Consubstantialem Patri*".

The twelfth Decree is of particular interest, for it deals with the education of Catholic children in non-Catholic schools. It orders that where there are Catholic schoolmasters the boys should be sent to them and not to the pagans. If only pagans are available, the children may go to them, but may not take part in pagan rites and ceremonies. The Cassanars are told that they could very well teach children to read and write in their own houses (*cf.* No. XLVII).

In the thirteenth Decree the Council endeavours to do away with the abuse that had crept in schools run by Christian schoolmasters. In order to attract pagans, they kept idols in their schools, to which the pagans did honour. The practice is condemned under severe penalties.

The fourteenth Decree forbids people to keep, write, read or hear read the following books:—

The book of the Infancy of the Saviour, or the History of Our Lady.
The book of John Brialdon.
The Pearl of Faith.
The Book of the Fathers.
The Life of the Abbot Isaias.
The Book of Synods.
The Book of the Patriarch Timothy.
The Book of Sunday.
Maclamatas.

Uguarda, or the Rose.
Camiz.
The Epistle of Marnacai.
Menra.
Of Orders.
Homilies (in which the Eucharist is said to be the image of Christ).
Exposition of the Gospels.
The Book of Rabban Hormisda.
The Flowers of the Saints.
The Book of Lots.
The Parsiman or Persian Medicine (where it is taught how to seduce women, prepare poison, harm enemies, exorcise devils by superstitious practices, etc., etc.).

Further it had been found asserted in their Great Breviary that the Divine Word did not assume human flesh; that there are two "supposita" in Christ, etc., etc. God is asked to free us from evil through the merits of the Martyr Nestorius, who was made to suffer by the children of iniquity, and chiefly by that master of iniquity Cyril, etc. Now, though these books deserve to be burnt, the Council orders them (*i.e.*, the Great Breviary and the Book of Prayers of the Great Fast) to be expurgated.

The sixteenth Decree orders that all the Syrian books be brought to the Archbishop, or to Fr. Roz, S.J., so that they may be expurgated. Also no books should be copied in the Syrian language without leave from the Ordinary, or, *sede vacante*, from Fr. Roz, S.J., *"Utpote diu versato in horum librorum versione, et linguæ tum Chaldaicæ tum Syracæ peritissimo atque adeo qui optime callet hujusmodi librorum qualitatem"*.

The seventeenth Decree introduces into Malabar the wholesome practice of not allowing Priests to preach or teach without a previous examination which, *sede vacante*, is to be carried on by the Fathers of the College of Vaipicota. Further it arranges for the translation of the Catechism into Malayalam, and for the explanation of the same to the people.

The nineteenth Decree is as follows: "Since the Synod has come to know that several seditious conventicles have been held in the Diocese after the death of Mar Abraham, in which, after taking a public and a secret oath against the Canons and the obedience due to the Holy Roman Church, some Cassanars and others have agreed to accept nothing in matters pertaining to Religion and to the government of this Church, unless all the rest should approve of it; nor to receive any Bishop elected and proclaimed by the Holy See, unless commanded by the Patriarch of Babylon ... the Holy Synod declares all these oaths to be null and void ... and excommunicates all those who have taken or accepted such oaths ... Nay the whole Synod swears and promises obedience in everything, according to the Sacred Canons, to the Pope, and swears that neither now nor in future will it accept any Bishop or Pastor who is not sent by Holy Mother the Church of Rome ... rather, it will accept and obey anyone sent by the Roman Pontiff".

Decrees twenty, twenty-one and twenty-two accept the Councils of Ephesus and Trent and the Tribunal of the Inquisition, and ask the latter to appoint as its commissaries for the Diocese, with faculty to absolve, some learned men, or the Fathers of the Society of Jesus.

(*b*) *On the Sacraments.*—The first and second decrees on Baptism do away with different formulæ and impose the Latin formula for the administration of the same (*cf.* Nos. LXXII, LXXIII).

The third decree deals with a sad state of affairs regarding the poor Christians dwelling in the forests and on the mountains. Many called themselves Christians, though they were not baptized, because they could not afford to pay the simoniacal charges imposed by unworthy priests. Priests are urged to instruct these poor people on the necessity of Baptism, and to baptise them in secret, in case there was a serious doubt about their Baptism (*cf.* Nos. LXXIV, LXXV).

In many places the Baptism of Children was delayed for months and even for years. The fifth Decree threatens the negligent and the careless with severe penalties (*cf.* No. LXXVI).

The practice to impose names belonging to the Old Testament is discouraged in the sixteenth Decree; exception, however, is made for the most famous. More sternly is the custom condemned of giving pagan names to Christian children (*cf.* No. LXXXVIII).

The nineteenth Decree orders the Baptismal Fons to be placed in the Churches and the twentieth commands that the

Registers of Baptisms be deligently kept, according to the ordinations of the Tridentine Council. Thus ends the first part of the Fourth Session.

The second part is about *Confirmation.* The first Decree laments that Confirmation was not administered in the Serra, and commands that in the coming visitation all Christians above seven should come to be confirmed by the Archbishop (*cf.* No. XCIV). It had happened in many places that those who had been confirmed were subjected to ridicule; further, many despised Confirmation as being a new and useless ceremony, and dissuaded people from receiving it on account of the slap that the Bishop gives to the confirmandi. The second Decree aims at uprooting such abuses and wrong notions (*cf.* No. XCV). The last Decree on Confirmation is about Godfathers and Godmothers.

The next Session deals with the Holy Eucharist and the Mass.

The third Decree (No. C) endeavours to uproot two grave abuses, which had crept in owing to the *"maximam dissolutionem hujus diœceseos".* The first was the practice of approaching Holy Communion without previous Confession. The second was the reception of Holy Communion by public sinners, without any previous public atonement for their sins.

The seventh Decree (No. CIV) urges the Priests to say Mass every day and the eighth forbids them to say Mass without first confessing, should they be in a state of mortal sin (No. CV).

The first Decree of the Session on the Mass (No. CVIII) laments that grave errors have been introduced into the Missals used in the Serra, and commands that the books be expurgated. The next (No. CXXI) orders that the Masses written by Nestorius, Theodore and Diodorus be burnt. The third Decree condemns as impious and sacrilegious a particular ceremony of the Mass, which, however, we are told, is even now performed by the Catholic Syrians of Malabar, without any suspicion of impiety (*cf.* No. CXXII). The fourth Decree reads as follows:—"Since the Syrian Mass seems too long for those Priests who wish to celebrate every day, the Synod grants the faculty that the Roman Mass be translated into Syriac, and asks Fr. Roz, S.J., to supply the translation. The

Priests then *may privately* say this Mass with the Roman ceremonies. But *High Mass should be sung in Syriac,* as corrected by the Metropolitan. The Priests, however, who can read the Mass both in Latin and in Syriac, *may say it in Latin in other Dioceses, but only in Syriac in this Diocese,* in order to avoid confusion. The Synod then begs of the Bishops of these parts, to grant faculty to the Priests of this Diocese, who have the legitimate dimissorials from their own Bishop, and who cannot read Latin, either to say the Syrian Mass, or the Roman translated into Syrian, keeping the Roman rite, for by the mercy of God, the schism, which till now was tearing this Church, seems to be over now".

The fifth Decree forbids those who are not Subdeacons to touch the paten, and the sixth forbids the use of the stole to those who are not Deacons (*cf.* Nos. CXXIV, CXXVI).

The seventh Decree orders that the hosts be properly made, of wheat flour, unmixed with other things. Similarly *"diligenter curent ut vinum sit lusitanum, et non ex uvis passis expressum, vel cum vinis indigenis et patriis commixtum .... ne se vel alios exponant non consecrandi periculo"* (*cf.* No. CXXVI).

To avoid the same danger, the eighth Decree regulates the manner of keeping the wine, and cautions priests not to say Mass with wine which has turned into vinegar (*cf.* No. CXXVII).

Owing to the difficulty of obtaining genuine wine, in several churches Mass was not said, or said very rarely. The Synod asks the King of Portugal to supply wine to the Diocese (*cf.* No. CXXVIII). The next Decree legislates about chalices and consecrated altar stones (*cf.* No. CXXIX). The eleventh Decree orders that sacred vestments be bought, either from alms offered by the parishioners, or in some other way, so that Mass be said, and the faithful be not deprived of it (*cf.* No. CXXX). The twelfth Decree promulgates the law which makes attendance at Sunday Mass compulsory (*cf.* No. CXXXI). The thirteenth Decree deals with the faithful who live far from the Church. Most of them came to Mass once or twice a year at most. Hence they were extremely ignorant and careless in matters religious. The Council decrees "that all the Christians who live two or three leagues away from the Church, are bound to hear Mass at least once

a month", "*qui per binas vel plures leucas ab Ecclesiis sint remoti*" (*cf.* No. CXXII).

The fourteenth Decree forbids pagans from attending Mass (*cf.* No. XXXIII). Since in the Serra the souls in Purgatory were forgotten, the Synod exhorts the faithful to remember them in their wills, leaving some money for Masses to be said. Those who made no such provision, and whose property was above 2,000 *fanams*, were told that in future money sufficient for the stipend of five Masses would be deducted from the heredity (No. XXXIV).

Note on the Mass.—Since the present work deals mainly with the History of the Jesuits in Malabar, we have not thought it necessary to give the changes introduced into the Chaldeo-Malabar Mass by Don Alexis de Menezes, even though the changes were not introduced without Jesuit inspiration and direction. A comparison of the Chaldeo-Malabarian and of the Chaldeo-Nestorian Liturgies was first made by the Oratorian Fr. Peter Lebrun (Paris, 1716). Both Liturgies, according to the text of Fr. Lebrun, were published at Alleppey in 1903 in the *Subsidium ad Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliæ*. When examined, the discrepancies will appear very small.

Before going to Malabar, the intention of Archbishop Menezes was to do away with the Syrian Liturgy. In fact in his letter of the 19th December 1597, to the Patriarch of Jerusalem, he writes: "And I tell Your Lordship that the Bishop of the Serra has not yet been appointed. It would be of great importance if he were one of the Society, for the Jesuits have travelled a good deal in the Serra (and know the Diocese). Similarly the order must be given to him to extinguish little by little the Syrian language, which is not natural, (*i.e.*, not spoken in Malabar), and the priests learn it like Latin, *because Syrian is the channel through which runs all that heresy*; and instead of the Syrian language he should introduce Latin, and with it the good government of the Diocese. And *above all it is necessary that the Bishop of the Serra be a Suffragan of Goa*, being near the Bishopric of Cochin, which is the nearest Suffragan". Archbishop Menezes succeeded in the second object, for the Serra was lowered from an Archbishopric to a Bishopric, and was made Suffragan of Goa; but with regard to the first object he changed his mind.

We should not wonder at the Archbishop's intention, for he seems to have been convinced that Syrian was the language through which heresy flowed into Malabar. Moreover the policy of the Holy See in the XVI was to spread the Roman Liturgy everywhere. In fact Card. Bona remarks that the licence in those days was such that individual Bishops, without the knowledge of the Pope, introduced the rites they pleased into their Dioceses, with no little confusion of the Liturgy. So Pius V (Constit. *Quod a Nobis*, July 1568 and *Quod Primum*, July 1570) abolished all Breviaries and Missals, except the Roman, and except those which had been approved from the very beginning by the Holy See, or had been used for over 200 years. And so it was done. Besides the Liturgies of the Ancient Religious Orders, there remained in the West only four Liturgies, one in Portugal (*Braga*), the second in one of the Chapels of the Toledo Cathedral (*Mozarabica*), the third in France (*Lyonensis*) and the fourth in Italy (*Mediolanensis*). In the East, however, later on, Pope Benedict XIV by the Bull *Etsi Pastoralis* (1742) ordered that the ancient Liturgies should be preserved *ex præcepto*. What Archbishop Menezes did in Malabar was done in similar circumstances in Persia and in Mesopotamia. In fact we read in Lebrun: "The Nestorians, having become Catholics, have taken the Roman Missal translated into Chaldean. This regards only some Priests, who, according to their devotion, use our Missal in private. But at High Mass they celebrate according to the ancient Liturgy, into which some corrections have been introduced, which were thought to be necessary."[2]

In 1914 two papers by the Rev. R. H. Connolly, O.S.B., on "The Work of Menezes on the Malabar Liturgy", appeared in the *Journal of Theological Studies.*[3] Contrary to the opinion which generally regards Alexis de Menezes as having entirely abolished the ancient Liturgy of Southern India, Dom Connolly shows that he changed very little, for "the Malabar and the East Syrian Liturgy of Addai and Mari are one and the same". The only material difference between the two is found to lie (1) in the order of that part of the service which

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[2] *Dissert.* XI, Art. XIV.
[3] Vol. XV, pp. 396–425; 569–93.

precedes the Creed, and (2) in the fact that the Malabar text contains a formula of Institution, which is missing in Addai and Mari.

The verbal changes made by the Synod of Diamper are specified in the Acts of the Synod. They were doctrinal in purpose, not liturgical. Consequently it is misleading to say that the Synod romanized the Malabar Liturgy, or, to any appreciable extent, assimilated it to the Roman rite.

The use of the Missal, corrected at the Synod, was only *ad tempus, i.e.,* "till our Lord the Pope will have settled what should be done, or will send us Missals written in Chaldean, as the Synod humbly and instantly begs of him".

Fr. Peter du Jarric (*loc. cit.,* p. 185) writes: "The Archbishop then wrote to the Holy Father Pope Clement VIII, to see about the Caldaic Missals and Breviaries. It did not seem proper to the Pope to send there so many books. But through Fr. Albert Laerzio, S.J., he sent a great quantity of Chaldæan types to India, with which books could be printed. Thus they can have more books and they can have them more conveniently. Till now some have been printed, and some are printed even now (1610). The first to come out of the Press was the *Ritual.*"

In 1757 Fr. Ignatius of St. Hyppolitus, C.D., proposed to the Holy See that a Chaldæan Missal corrected and expurgated should be printed again. The Congregation, deputed for the correction of ancient Oriental books, determined that the Chaldæan Liturgy should be printed only with the corrections fixed by Archbishop Menezes at the Synod of Diamper (Rome, 3rd September 1757. S. Card. Spinelli, Prefect).

Finally, through the initiative of the Carmelite Fathers of Verapoly the Malabar Missal was again printed by Propaganda in 1774–75 *purgatum et correctum ab omni errore.* Substantially it is made up of the ancient Chaldæo-Nestorian Liturgy, corrected and amplified (1) with the essential Menesian corrections; (2) with the amplifications introduced by the Archbishop of Cranganore Francis Roz, S.J., and perhaps by his successors, *i.e.,* the Holy Week ceremonies (Holy Saturday excepted), the Propers of the Saints, who were then commemorated in the Roman Missal; (3) with some prayers taken from the Mesopotamian Missal; (4) perhaps with some other corrections (as to the ceremonies) introduced by the Carmelites. Another edition was printed in 1844. But let us return to the Synod.

The first Decree relating to CONFESSION (No. CXXXVII) promulgates the precept of yearly Confession. The precept was not known in the Serra, for the Diocese had been under the Chaldæans *"juratis hujus sacramenti hostibus".* A few, however, used to confess; but the greatest number abstained, being under the wrong impression that, should they go to Confession, they would die soon after.

The second Decree (No. CXXXIX) fixes the eighth year when the precept of yearly Confession begins to oblige a Christian; or even earlier, according to the discretion of the Parish Priest.

The next Decree (No. CXL) commands the fathers of family to see to it that their dependants, even the slaves, should be given opportunity to go to Confession.

The fourth Decree (No. CXLI) threatens with penalties the Christians who neglect to call the priest when someone is on the point of death, and the priests who do not care to go and assist him; and the sixth Decree exhorts the priests to assist also those who are stricken with small pox, even though the sickness is very catching.

The aim of the seventh Decree is to introduce the practice of frequent Confession (No. CXLVI); and the next deals with jurisdiction and reserved cases. The eleventh Decree condemns the practice of easily excommunicating sinners, and of denying absolution in certain cases, even *in Articulo Mortis* (No. CXLVIII).

Since the Synod knows *"Plures imperitos et idiotas confessiones audire"* it orders that no one should hear Confessions without first obtaining the faculties from the Bishop; and till the appointment of the Bishop, "the Synod entrusts the examination and approval of future confessors to the Fathers of the College of Vaipicota" (No. CXLIX).

At times the Cassanars, after having heard the Confessions of the faithful, brought them to the Bishop for absolution. The fourteenth Decree (No. CLI) condemns the practice. Similarly the custom is condemned of pronouncing the words of absolution when merely called to bless a sick person.

So far with regards to the *Sacrament of Penance*.

As to the Sacrament of *Extreme Unction*, the first Decree (No. CLIV) states that "*In hoc Episcopatu nullus hactenus fuit usus sacramenti extremæ unctionis*". Then the people are exhorted to receive it, and directions are given to the priests how to administer it (Nos. CLV, CLVI).

Regarding *Holy Orders* there are twenty-three decrees.

Just as in Europe, so in Malabar children were at times ordained clerics or even priests (Decr. I, No. CLIX). The Decree forbids the practice; fixes the canonical age and orders that those who know no Latin should have "as much knowledge of Syriac ... as the Tridentine demands of Latin". This shows that the Archbishop had abandoned the idea of doing away with Syriac in Malabar. The second Decree roundly states that "*quotquot hactenus ordines suscepere in hac dioecoesi, omnes simoniace sunt promoti.*" Yet their ignorance "*cui causam dederunt præsules ipsi*" is some excuse. Therefore the Metropolitan absolves them from the censures they have incurred (No. CLX).

Cassanars infected with leprosy are declared irregular (No. CLXI). Since very few priests used to say the Divine Office, the Synod insists on the gravity of the obligation to recite it every day, and prescribes other prayers for those who lack the necessary books (No. CLXIII). Fr. Francis Roz, S.J., is asked to translate into Syriac the Athanasian Creed, which Priests are to recite every Sunday, according to the Rubrics (No. CLXIV). The seventh Decree exhorts the Cassanars who recite the Office in the Church "*ne ibi colloquia inter se misceant*". Several Cassanars made use of *Mantrams* and superstitious practices in driving out devils from persons supposed to be possessed. The ninth Decree regulates the use of exorcisms and threatens severe penalties against defaulters (No. CLXVII). Further, many Cassanars, following pagan customs, used to cast the horoscope, and calculate the incidence of auspicious and inauspicious days. The tenth Decree deals with this practice (No. CLXVIII). The eleventh Decree "*dolet de intemperantia, qua sacerdotes aliqui cibi potusque appetitioni plus aequo indulgent, cum offensione christianorum ... præsuli vero commandant vigilantiam in acriter corripiendis bibacibus ... nullus sacerdos audeat adire cauponas ... nec apud infidelem, ethnicum, Turcam, aut Judæum convivetur ...*" (No. CLXIX). By the twelfth Decree "*præcipit synodus ut sacerdotum nemo domo exeat braccatus, sive breviori veste indutus ... vestis color sit albus, niger aut cæruleus ... et pileo caput tegant ... multo minus noctu, inter venandum vel piscandum, tantummodo verenda tegentes, cetera nudi incedant ... præterea coram fœminis aut simul cum illis non laventur ... quoad vero ad barbæ culturam attinet, ut libuerint faciant*" (No. CLXX). The thirteenth Decree (No. CLXXI) forbids Priests to carry on commerce. By the fourteenth Decree Clerics are threatened with excommunication should they "*ad commercia tutius exequenda (incedere) absque habitu sacerdotali, tonsura ... imo intonso capite capillisque juxta profanorum hominum ac popularium morem eleganter compositis*" (No. CLXXII). Similar punishments are decreed against those Clerics who "*stipendia a regibus accipiunt, et instar Nayrum nomen dant, atque inter milites conscripti, debent ad bella procedere, manus conserere, et omnia munia militaria, prout se præbuerit occasio, exercere*" (No. CLXXIII).

No. CLXXV (sixteenth Decree), forbids "*In virtue sanctæ obedientiæ et sub pœna excommunicationis latæ sententiæ ne ullus clericorum in sacris constitus audeat posthac ducere uxorem ... quod attinet vero ad jam pridem uxoratos, eos omnes synodus censura suspensionis impedit ab exercitio sacrorum ordinum, omniumque actuum sacerdotalium ... quosque cum effectu uxores dimiserint ... synodus autem consulet papam ac pontificem romanum ... ut quid opus sit doceat ac præcipiat. Quod vero ab eo præceptum fuerit exactissime custodietur*".[4]

[4] FR. VINCENZO, O.C.D., in his *Viaggio*, pp. 141, 142, says that Archbishop MENEZES doubted the opportunity of introducing the celibacy of the Clergy in Malabar. A miraculous event dispelled all doubts: one day, while the leader of the opposition was saying Mass, after the Consecration, the Sacred Host was twice taken away from under his eyes. Still persisting in the desire to celebrate, he twice asked for altar breads. But the third time he felt himself repelled from the altar, and went away half dead. The people, having heard of the miracle, expelled the Priest. From that time no one opposed the Archbishop's plan.

The priests' wives or "*Cassanariæ*" enjoyed the privileges of occupying an honourable place in the Church, of sharing with their husbands the Church's income, in fact sometimes they got even more than the priests themselves. The eighteenth Decree says that all this has to stop if they continue to live with the Cassanars. If they separate, part of the income will be given to them as a kind of grant for the maintenance of their families, and in the Church they will continue to occupy the place of honour.

The Synod declares (No. CLXXVIII) that the Decree of the Tridentine which does not allow "*ut ministrent illegitimi filii Presbyterorum in eadem ecclesia in qua eorum parentes ministrant ... non extendi ad filios sacerdotum hujus diœceseos, qui hucusque pro legitimis habiti sunt, tum quia matrimonium unde orti sunt ad hanc usque diem communiter habitum est pro legitimo, tum ob multitudinum filiorum hujusmodi ecclesiis inservientium, tum ob pericula, eaque gravissima quae si id non permitteretur huic diœcesi impenderent*".

The twentieth Decree is against simony, by which the Serra was nearly ruined. In fact no Sacrament was conferred without payment, not even the Eucharist; no absolution was given, no faculties were granted, no orders conferred, no dispensations obtained without money. Delinquents are threatened with suitable punishments. Yet the Synod knew that at the root of these simoniacal practices was the extreme indigence of the priests. So the next Decree exhorts the people to contribute to the maintenance of their pastors. However, the people also being extremely poor, the Synod (No. CLXXXI) begs the King of Portugal "*Tanquam istius Christianitatis protector ac in istis regionibus rex unicus dominusque Christianus*" to come to the rescue, and give to the Diocese an annual contribution of 1,500 crusados. The same amount had been asked already by the third Council of Goa. In the meantime, while the King's consent is obtained, the Archbishop of Goa will give to the Serra 1,500 crusados every year, "*ex stipendiis Goae detrahendis*". The last Decree (No. CLXXXII) knowing that the number of clerics in the Serra was excessive, provides that "*in hac sede vacante, quamdiu novus praesul non advenerit ... nullus initietur sacris*".

The second part of the seventh Session is on *Marriage*.

In the Serra very often marriages were celebrated without the presence of the *Cassanar*. The first Decree puts a stop to the practice and introduces the Tridentine usage.

The second Decree regulates the ceremonies of marriage, and insists on the words of consent.

The fifth Decree insists that marriage be celebrated in the Church, and preceded by the reception of the Sacraments.

The eleventh Decree forbids separation *a mensa et thoro* without the sentence of the Church.

Often Christian slaves used to marry according to pagan rites. The twelfth Decree forbids them to do so.

The thirteenth Decree legislates against bigamy. The fourteenth Decree against the casting of horoscopes and other superstitions connected with marriages. The fifteenth Decree forbids the celebration of "*sponsalia*" before the children have attained the proper age, and the mixing up of superstitious ceremonies with it.

The last Decree speaks against the practice of keeping away from the Church for four days after the marriage ceremony; "*Quantum autem ad lotiones, nulla ratione sibi suadeant eas vel ad spiritualem animarum salutem, vel ad divinum cultum et ad templorum reverentiam pertinere*".

Thus ends the seventh Session.

(c) *On the Reformation of Ecclesiastical Discipline.*—Since the Diocese of the Serra was not divided into Parishes, "*in ea quilibet arbitrio suo vivit; nemo est qui alienam licentiam coerceat; nemo cui animarum cura fuerit commissa*" (No. CC); hence the Synod orders the division of the Diocese into Parishes, to be done by the Bishop. The Parish Priests, however, to be "*amovibiles ad praesulis nutum decernit*" (No. CCI). The third Decree forbids one priest to have usually more than one Parish.

In many parts of the Serra "*eo quod ab ecclesiis longe distant, vix vestigium aliquod Christianae religionis superest, nam neque incolae baptizantur, nec quidquam retinent quo ab ethnicis distinguantur nisi purum nomen*". Hence the Cassanars are ordered to make inquiries about these poor people, and to report to the Archbishop, so that little by little Churches may be built for them, and they may be taught to live good Christian lives (No. CCIV).

Before the Synod the Archbishop passed through Travancore, and found that the Church there was almost destroyed. For many years they had had no Priests, the children had not been baptised, and the people lived like pagans. The Archbishop instructed and baptised many and obtained from the Rajah that the Christians should be allowed to live according to their Law. The Synod settles that a Vicar be sent there and that other priests and preachers should go and help towards the restoration of the Church in Travancore (No. CCV).

The seventh Decree recommends the Todas to the care of the Archbishop. The Decree is of special interest, for Fr. Fenicio's expedition to Todaland (of which elsewhere) originated from the same.

On the Maundy Thursday previous to the Synod the Archbishop at Caturti had consecrated the sacred oils "*cujus usus in hac diœcesi nullus usque hactenus fuit*". Now the Synod arranges that the oils be distributed to the Cassanars, who will take them to their respective Churches (No. CCVII).

The eleventh Decree legislates about fasting, and the next "*Damnat stultam opinionem eorum qui sectantes ethnicorum superstitiones, censent inutile sibi fore jejunium nisi primo mane corpus laverint*". In former times the custom was introduced into the Serra of blessing Holy Water simply by throwing into it some earth brought from the tomb of St. Thomas. The Synod insists that Holy Water should be blessed according to the Roman rite (No. CCXVII).

The people usually prayed in Syriac, but knew only the Our Father and the Hail Mary; in fact many did not know even that, or did not understand what they were saying. Many children did not even know the sign of the Cross, and what was worse, the Chamazes themselves often did not know the Decalogue. The eighteenth Decree regulates the teaching of the Catechism. In every Church there should be a Catechism book written in Malayalam; hence the Synod asks Fr. Rector of the College of Vaipicota, S.J., to get the pupils to copy it, and thus to prepare a good number of copies.

The twentieth Decree insists on the respect due to the Holy Name of Jesus, and the next introduces into the Serra the midnight Mass at Xmas. The twenty-second Decree prescribes the use of the surplice in the administration of the

Sacraments, quae "*ministrentur juxta ritus et ceremonias ritualis romani, jussu R. Metropolitani Syriace translati*". As to the surplices "the Metropolitan will supply as many as are needed". As to the Rituals the Rector of Vaipicota must get them copied by the students, so that they may be distributed to the Churches, which need them. Many Churches in Malabar were dedicated to Mar Xabro and Mar Prodh, about whom nothing definite was known; "Nay", as the Council remarks, "there was no light suspicion that they had been Nestorians". The Synod commands their Churches to be dedicated to All Saints, and no more Churches to be dedicated in their honour (No. CCXXV).

"*Quia ecclesiæ fere omnes hujus diœceseos pulvere et araneorum telis notabiliter sordent*", the Synod provides that there should be a Sacristan to keep them clean (No. CCXXVII).

The twenty-ninth Decree provides that Churches be adorned with sacred pictures, that a pulpit be built in them, and that bells be bought.

The thirty-first Decree forbids people (especially the sick) to sleep in the Churches. Often poor Christians from the jungle did not get a decent burial. The thirty-second Decree provides that they be brought to the Church and given a Christian burial. Similarly the Cassanars are told that it is their duty to accompany (*Saltem a longe*) to the Cemetery the bodies of people dead from plague or smallpox (Dec. XXXIII).

The thirty-fourth Decree urges the Cassanars to work for the conversion of Infidels, both of high and low caste.

The thirty-sixth Decree is of peculiar interest. It says: "Since the Synod is well aware that low caste people come to the faith more easily than Nayars and the Nobles, it most earnestly desires that a way be found by which high caste people who have been converted to Christianity should worship in the same Church with the other Christians, for they all adore the same God, keep the same faith, use the same Sacraments, and one is the God of all, who has no preferences and makes no distinction between low and high born. Still, having considered the matter most carefully, having prayed to God all these days, and having discussed ways and means and found none, for all these Christians are subject to heathen princes, who would break off relations with them and would cease to

show them the consideration they have shown them heretofore, should they touch low caste people, the Synod, having considered most accurately all this, commands that, when low castes wish to be received into the fold, they should be received, and the fact should immediately be notified to the Bishop, so that a special Church and Pastor should be assigned to them. Thus the door to the faith will not remain shut—as it was till now—for these poor people. And when a Church is not built for them, let them attend Mass from the Porch, till it shall be obtained from the Princes that, when they become Christians, their names be reckoned among the high castes, so that all untouchability be removed. Therefore the Synod begs the King of Portugal to treat of this matter with the heathen Princes, with all the influence he can command."

The twenty-seventh Decree starts as follows:—"*Cupiens Synodus montanam hanc ecclesiam omnibus conformare consuetudinibus latinœ*", etc. From this, however, it should not be concluded that the desire was realized. As we have pointed out already, the original intention had to be modified. The Decree directs that the Sign of the Cross be made passing from the left shoulder to the right, and not *vice versa*.

In the thirty-eighth Decree the Synod declared that the execution of wills belongs by Canon Law to the Bishops. Therefore, if after one year from the death of the testator, his will is not yet executed, the Bishop "should compel the heirs to fulfil it".

The fortieth Decree is of special interest to the Jesuits. It says: "The Synod while it thanks in the Lord the Religious of the Society of the College of Vaipicota and of the other Residence of this Diocese for the splendid work which they have done in instructing this people, gives to the same Religious, both of the College of Vaipicota and of the larger Residences, and to their guests, the faculty to preach, to explain the Catechism, to hear Confessions and to solemnly administer the other Sacraments in any Church. No other leave, beside this, will be required. The Sacrament of Marriage is excepted, which they may not administer unless the Parish Priest invites them or gives his consent. Further it orders the Cassanars, the Vicars and all the people to receive them, *i.e.*, the Fathers, kindly and gladly, and to show them their gratitude for the work they have done and for the expenses they have undergone in constantly travelling about these mountainous and inaccessible places, with the only object of procuring the salvation of their souls. Also they should earnestly learn from them what is necessary for the administration of the Sacraments, and how to instruct the people in the things necessary for salvation. Further, when the Fathers teach Catechism or give a sermon, the Vicars should see to it that the people is gathered in the Church. And the Synod greatly hopes that the Fathers will perform the above-mentioned ministries in harmony with the Vicars and the other priests, all united in the bonds of charity and good-will."

The forty-first Decree insists that the Diocese of the Serra is Suffragan to Goa; therefore the Decrees of the Goa Councils should, as far as possible, be applied to the Serra; appeals should be made to Goa, etc.

(*d*) *On the Reformation of Customs and Morals*.—The first Decree specifies certain customs connected with bathing, eating, etc., which it brands as superstitious, and therefore, it forbids them. The next is against untouchability. It recognises, however, the great difficulty there is to do away with it in regions wholly subjected to pagan princes. The third Decree is against the superstitious rites which were used when wells were polluted by low caste people.

During the Onam festival it was customary to hold tournaments and mortal combats, in honour of pagan gods. The Synod forbids them (No. CCXLV). Similarly the Synod disapproves of the Jewish custom of deeming women to be legally impure for forty days after the birth of a man child, and for eighty days after the birth of a girl (No. CCXLVII). The practice of having recourse to *pujaris* and poisoners is strongly reprobated (No. CCXLVIII). People wearing written *mantrams* are threatened with severe penalties (No. CCXLIX). Usury was frequent among the Thomas Christians. The Synod forbade to exact more than ten per cent. when there was no risk of losing the capital (No. CCL).

Decrees XI and XII are against concubinage. Those who sold their children are threatened with excommunication (No. CCLIV).

The fourteenth Decree wants that the practice of offering

to the Church one-tenth of the dowry, which was common in the northern part of the Diocese, be extended to the southern part as well.

It was an ancient custom in Malabar, approved of even by the pagan princes, that the Bishop ruled the Christians both in temporal and spiritual affairs. Some, however, preferred the Rajahs to the Bishop, and they brought to the Rajah their quarrels. The latter vexed the Christians, fined them and troubled them in many ways. To put a stop to this, the Synod forbids the Christians to have recourse to the Rajah without the Bishop's leave.

Ordeals such as touching a red hot iron, putting the hand in boiling oil, swimming across a river infested with crocodiles, were fairly common. The Synod forbids them (No. CCLVII).

The costume of the Christians was, from ancient times, different from that of the Pagans. The Synod endeavours to revive it, and to stop the practice, at least among men, of piercing and lengthening the ear lobes (No. CCLVIII). The eighteenth Decree tries to put a stop to drunkenness, chiefly from excess of arrack. The nineteenth Decree deals with the vexed question of weights and measures, and insists on uniformity.

In the Serra women could not inherit. Many, therefore, either lived in poverty, or became prostitutes. The Synod declares the custom illicit, and regulates the mode of inheritance (No. CCLXI).

Though they had children of their own, the Christians often adopted other children, and made no difference in willing their property. The Synod cautions the people against this abuse (No. CCLXII).

By the twenty-second Decree the Synod tries to bring the Christians to live together in villages, so that they could have a Church of their own, avoid pagans and pagan customs and be a help to each other. Since the Christians were subject to many vexations on the part of pagan princes, the Synod begs the King of Portugal to be their Protector (No. CCLXV).

The twenty-fifth and last Decree contains some regulations in order that the Cassanars and the people should know and remember the various provisions and ordinances of the Synod.

4. After the Synod

(*a*) *The Visitation.*—Immediately after the Synod, the Archbishop, having summoned to himself the Cassanars, whom he had appointed Parish Priests, gave them the newly consecrated altar stones, the vessels for the sacred oils, and a formula how to use them, the Roman Ritual, written out in the Chaldæan language, a small Catechism written in Malayalam, and vestments and ornaments. In fact, he spent for all this some 18,000 crusados. Then he started again the visitation, which had been interrupted during the Synod.

The Archbishop was accompanied by five Jesuits, Fr. Francis Roz, Fr. Jerome Cotta, Fr. George de Castro, Fr. Antony Toscano and Br. Joao Maria; one Augustinian, Fr. Blasius a Sancta Maria, his Confessor; three Canons from Goa; two chaplains to the Metropolitan and several Cassanars.

When they approached a village the whole people came out with great glee to meet them; arches were erected; the roads were strewn with flowers; men and women fell on their knees asking for the Archbishop's blessing, and striving to kiss his garments. After Mass Fr. Roz, S.J., and others well versed in the Chaldæan tongue, received all the books which were brought to them; some were expurgated, others burnt. Next, Don Alexis addressed the people and then some Decrees of the Council were read out. Children—at times ten or twelve years old—were baptized, marriages blessed or regularised; persons who had been excommunicated for 20 or 30 years, were often absolved. Everywhere four men were appointed *"oeconomi"* of the Church. The priests, who had not been present at the Synod, had to make their profession of faith. Some had to be examined in order to get their faculties to hear Confessions and to preach. In some places the new Parish Priest had to be appointed. A procession for the dead wound up the functions, when the Christians went two by two round the Church. Upon reaching the Cemetery the Primate preached again, and explained the Doctrine of Purgatory and the necessity of praying for the dead.

The pagans were attracted by the majesty of the ceremonies, the beauty of the vestments, the order and recollection of the people. Usually, during the administration of Baptism, at the words: *"ingredimini ecclesiam Dei"*—the Archbishop

addressed them a few words, exhorting them to live a good life, and not to be deaf to the voice of God.

Several cures are reported, and we should not be surprised if God put his miraculous seal on this great work of reunion and of reformation.

(b) *The Letters.*—In November 1599 Archdeacon George wrote to Rome thanking the Pope for having appointed a Vicar Apostolic on Mar Abraham's death. Then he speaks of the great work of Menezes, *"quamquam vero prioribus mensibus id illi fuit laboriosum, ne dixerim periculosum, dum adhuc essemus tenebrae".* But then they came to the light, they swore obedience to the Roman Church, "and therefore renounced and anathematized the Babylonian Patriarch, as schismatic ... heretical, Nestorian, and head of this execrable sect, which, in the same manner, (they) rejected and anathematized in the same Synod, and followed in everything the doctrine of our Metropolitan, the Lord Alexis de Menezes". He then enumerates some of the dispositions of the Synod, and then, after asking the Apostolic benediction begs of the supreme Pontiff that he should send them a Bishop, for they had sworn in the same Synod that they would never receive any Bishop from Babylon. Nay, they ask the Pope to grant them as Bishop the Metropolitan himself ... or, if that is impossible, at least the Pope should grant them Fr. Francis Roz, S.J., who knows the Diocese, has preached and taught everywhere; and, besides being learned and holy, he knows Syriac ... As to Malayalam, and Malayalam customs, he knows them as well as they." ... *"Vernaculum item sermonem ac patrios mores acque ac nos (novit)."*

Was the conversion of the Archdeacon so thorough that he had forgotten that years before he had been chosen Bishop of Palur? Was he quite ready now to waive his claims in favour of the Primate or even of Fr. Roz? Was his letter to Rome written of his own initiative, or had Portuguese pressure been irresistible? We need not suspect the Archdeacon of playing a double game. Carried away by the enthusiasm of the moment, he may have been sincere in what he wrote to Rome. But he changed later; he caused tremendous trouble to his own Bishop, and he sowed the seeds of the subsequent schism.

It has been asserted that the Synod of Diamper was never approved by Rome. In virtue of the Constitution *"Immensa"* of Sixtus V, the Synod being purely diocesan, had not to be approved by Rome. Still it has always been regarded as fundamental, and the Holy See has often inculcated its observance. In the Brief *"Divinam Dei"* of May 1601 the Pope writes: "Therefore we have been filled with the greatest joy in the Lord, when, from the numerous letters we have received, we have come to know that the Archbishop of Goa—with his piety and zeal for the Glory of God and the salvation of your souls, has held a Synod, where many of the Clergy and of the Laity were gathered, and where, moved by the Holy Ghost, with great consensus, the impious errors of Nestorius were rejected and anathematized by you, and books infected with heretical poison ... were either expurgated or burnt and what is most important, you have acknowledged the Roman Pontiff common Father of all the faithful, and Head of the whole Church... Hence we congratulate you, etc."

We shall add here another letter written by Fr. Nicholas Pimenta Visitor in the South, to Fr. General Aquaviva. "It is now time that I should turn to the Christians of St. Thomas. After taking counsel with our Fathers, the Archbishop decided on visiting the Archdiocese of Angamale to induce that Church to receive a Prelate from the Sovereign Pontiff. The enemy of the human race, however, perceived clearly this to be the one means of bringing an effective remedy to all existing troubles. So he exerted himself to raise technical difficulties of every sort to hinder the good Prelate's design ... Despising these, however, with singular firmness and prudence, and supported by divine aid, he began, continued and completed his arduous visitation. The Archdeacon after endless subterfuges and artifices ... returning to a better sense, promised finally that he would live under the obedience of the Apostolic See.

During this visitation the Archbishop, as is known, laboured much on behalf of, and greatly promoted, the salvation of souls. In the first place he secured the valid administration of the Sacraments; he expurgated the Nestorian books—of which there were a great number—of six hundred errors and statements opposed to Catholic truth, any passage that denied the supreme authority of the Apostolic See, he ordered, should be

deleted; finally he caused capable priests—rare to be found—to be diligently sought out and these placed in charge of parishes. The means adopted, which chiefly enabled the Archbishop to secure his end were the following: he visited personally the Churches; he established eighty parishes; he summoned a diocesan Synod (the famous Synod of Diamper), at which the Clergy of the Archdiocese were invited to attend according to ancient usage and only our Fathers besides; at the Synod assisted the Governor of Cochin, Dom Anthony Noronha, and the chief dignitaries of the City who on behalf of the King of Portugal had assumed on themselves the task of the protection of these Christians. How important was the step and how greatly in the future it was to promote the interests of the Portuguese Crown, none can gainsay who is aware of the effect of binding this race, which from the days of St. Thomas had alone in India held the faith and could place in array thirty thousand armed men, to the cause of Portugal, and of bringing them under the obedience of the Roman See. What greatly helped in effecting this, were the zeal displayed and the exemplary life of this Prelate. He in the space of nine months did more, as our Fathers attest, to promote the spiritual welfare of these peoples than had been done from the Apostle's time to our days by those who have occupied that See. How well disposed this Prelate is towards Ours who labour in that part of the Lord's vineyard, is shown by what he writes in the following letter which he addressed to me:— "The visitation through the Serra had often left me exhausted; but I keep in mind what the Holy Ghost has said, *et bene patientes erunt ut annuntient*. In what state I was able to leave the affairs of these Christians, and what has been done, the Fathers must have written you, so I say nothing. One thing I will say to your Reverence—had I spent the winter here in Goa, those Churches would have been lost; nor would I have saved my conscience, at a time when that flock was mine and was sadly in need of pastoral care and Catholic teaching; had I abandoned it and had I not rather fed it with healthful doctrine as I did and do, with the Fathers of the Society who accompanied me. I beg and entreat your Reverence to realise how acceptable to me is the almost unbearable burden they sustain in cultivating and expanding that vineyard. The love, the

charity, with which they endure all things for God's sake has bound me by no slight ties to them, for without them I would have done nothing. Supported by them frequently I learned to throw off the clouds of troubles and anxieties, which weighed upon me, at times tepid and imperfect. May the Lord reward them in heaven, and may Your Reverence bestow upon them a copious blessing. The residence for the Fathers at Angamale has been opened with the approval of all. Let not your Reverence have any doubt. The entire salvation of these Christians depends upon the Residence in the Serra."

APPENDIX

After the Council was over, Gouvea describes the deeds of the Archbishop in Cochin, Porca and Calicut. When dealing with the Zamorin we shall relate the interview he had with the Primate. From Calicut Menezes passed on to Mangalore, Barcelor, Onor, and everywhere visited the Parishes, which had not seen their Bishop for 24 years; he put down abuses, reconciled the people with God, and showed great zeal for God's glory and the salvation of souls. Some idea of his goodness and kindness may be gathered from the following which we translate from *Jornada* (*lib. I.C.* VI).

It refers the Archbishop's visit of Cannanore, which, however, took place before the Synod of Diamper. No episcopal visitation had been held in Cannanore for 24 years. The Archbishop had brought with him some Priests well versed in Malayalam, whom he sent into the villages to preach to the Gentiles. Many in fact came to him, and upon being asked why they had not entered the vineyard, they answered that nobody had invited them. They were instructed, even by the Archbishop himself, and they were baptised with great solemnity; the Archbishop taking care that employment should be found for them. He worked also to reclaim the souls of bad Christians from the devil's thraldom. Among the latter there was one who for ten years had been living in sin with a native woman, from whom he had several children. He was so infatuated by his love that he did not set his foot among the Christians. The Archbishop called him, and the man being afraid, he sent him letters assuring him that he would not be

persecuted. The man came armed with pistols, and secretly entered the garden of the Franciscans with whom the Archbishop was residing. When he was told that the man had come, he went down all alone and conducted him to the choir, where they both sat down; and the Pastor spoke with such fervour that the poor sinner fell at his feet, and, like a new Saul, he was crying out: "Lord, what do you will me to do?" The Archbishop raised him up, embraced him and told him to make his Confession, and leave his sinful practice. He kept him with him for some days, and then gave him absolution. Knowing that the great love which he still cherished for that woman would eventually make him waver in his resolution, he persuaded him to convert her and marry her, promising him that he himself would smooth the difficulties with his relations. And he showed him how wrong it was to think it more honourable to have heathen children from a native woman than Christian children from a convert. The good Pastor spoke so well that finally the girl ran away from her parents with her four children and asked to be baptised. She was instructed and she was baptised with the children in the Church in the presence of all the noble ladies of Cannanore. The Archbishop said Mass, gave her the Sacrament of Confirmation, and then they were married with great rejoicings. He then succeeded in reconciling the young man with his father, who embraced him like the prodigal son. Next the relations of the bride were baptized, and the Archbishop helped them. When he returned from the Serra he appointed the young man to the service of the King, and later on procured for him and for his relations more abundant means of subsistence.

In the same town there lived a woman of doubtful fame, though of noble family and well married. She had two little daughters who promised to turn out well. The worthy Prelate, hearing of the danger in which they were, owing to the wickedness of the mother, thought of an expedient, which he had used also in Goa. That is to say, he tried to entrust the children to good women who would be as mothers to them. But the mother refused. The Archbishop called her and begged of her to allow her daughters to remain with women of good repute who were there present. The mother would not listen,

and the little girls, embracing her, cried in such a piteous manner as to break a heart of stone. No one dared approach the mother, when the Archbishop rose with great dignity and taking the children, entrusted them to the good women. The woman full of anger called upon God to do her justice. The Archbishop sat down, and hearing the imprecations of the woman, said: "Leave her alone; she is a mother. Maternal love is her excuse. Later on, when she will see her daughters honourably married, she will be happy". In fact that is what really happened for later on the Archbishop himself saw that they were honourably settled in life. And the sons-in-law were so good that they saw to it that the mother did not lack anything. She then lived an honest life, rendering infinite thanks to God and to the Archbishop, who constantly helped her."

He ordered his cousin, who was most intimate with him, to learn all these things more accurately; and this man, though a heathen, delighted in them so much as to keep only one wife, to abstain from flesh meat on Fridays, and to laugh at their idols and superstitions. He promised to receive baptism at the first opportunity.

3. Peace between the Portuguese and the Zamorin

"Finally they began to treat of peace. For that purpose the Portuguese Commandant of the Malabar fleet was called through the Fathers, he being at anchor nearby. He was Alvaro Branchez. Both parties agreed that Goa should be consulted as to the conditions of peace. Two officials of the highest nobility, with a third man, very much esteemed among his own, and well versed in Portuguese affairs, were sent on an embassy to Goa together with Father Roz, whose advice they had to use. Gifts were sent as well.

The Embassy was received with great honour, and, having seen the Viceroy, they desired to speak with the "Great Father", for so they called our Provincial, to whom they were to present the demands of the Zamorin, signed with his own hand, and his letters of thanks. Therein the Zamorin asked that several Fathers should be sent to him, and in a special manner that Fr. Roz should be allowed to remain with him. Having been received with great honour, they behaved, in their own way, with great civility. They greatly admired the splendour of our Churches, and expressed the desire that the Zamorin should build similar ones in his own dominions. They boasted of the peace, uttering threats against neighbouring Princes, who, unless they obeyed, would be subjugated. When the conditions of peace were determined, they returned with gifts both for the king and for themselves. The task of confirming the alliance by oath was given to the Commander Alvaro Branchez.

In order to satisfy the Zamorin who demanded a greater number of Priests, Father Antonio Schipani, S.J., a learned man, well versed in the things of Malabar and of ardent zeal was added to Father Acosta, who had remained with the King. Father Schipani was to be the Superior of the Mission.

As to Fr. Roz, since he could not abandon the Thomas Christians, he was ordered to go to Calicut now and then.

The Ambassadors were received by the Zamorin with great joy. Immediately all the Portuguese and the Christians, who were war prisoners, were liberated; the war booty was returned; and so were returned all the arms that had been taken in battle, and which were kept in the Fort. Now to the oath with which the peace conditions were to be made firm. A field was chosen outside the city, near the sea. The Fathers put up there a high Cross, well adorned. On the appointed day, the Zamorin with the Crown Prince, many high Officials and numerous soldiers came; the Portuguese fleet was at anchor near the shore. In order to testify his own and the King's satisfaction, the chief of the Officials promised that he would put up a set of lamps in the Church of the Fathers, to burn there for ever. When everything was ready, guns and mortars were fired, and Alvaro, accompanied by his men came on shore. He embraced the Zamorin, and Officers embraced Officers. In order that the sworn peace should be stronger, first the Zamorin, then all the rest adored the Holy Cross. Then, on the same day, in the same field, a place was chosen to build the Church. The Zamorin first dug up some earth to lay the foundations. The Fathers and the others, with great fervour, continued the work, and removed the earth. The place for the Fathers' house was chosen likewise, and the task of preaching the Gospel was undertaken. Many gave their names to the Christian Faith and their instruction was begun with the favour of the Zamorin, as it appears from the following letter of the same to Father Visitor."

4. Letters to Father Visitor

The Zamorin wrote thus: "The Fathers who are here with me will write to you how much they are loved by me and how I do nothing without their advice, for they are men of the greatest faith and prudence, and they love me truly and cordially. Alvaro Branchez will testify the same, from whom I begged to deal with you about my requests. For I trust that, as the beginnings of the Fathers' work are so promising, the issue will likewise be most happy. What, in the presence of Alvaro I promised, the same will be ratified,

Samoothiri

CHAPTER VII

THE ZAMORIN AND THE JESUITS

(1596–1615)

Now we shall leave for a while the affairs of the Serra, to speak more in detail of the Jesuits. And first, let us relate how the Jesuits came to Calicut.

1. Father Acosta's Mission of Peace

We take the following from the *Annual Letters of the Society of Jesus for the Year* 1597: "It is well known that Calicut is the seat of the Zamorin, and the capital of the kingdom of Malabar; nor is it necessary to explain how the Zamorin is above the neighbouring Princes in power and wealth. Known are the wars, known the history of the past. Between Malabarians and Portuguese there ever was war, or peace insecure. The mission was undertaken last year at the request of the Zamorin himself. The causes which induced him to it are as follows:—

Kunhale, always restless and up to mischief, famous by land and sea, a Muslim by religion, had been for some time at the service of the Zamorin. His power and glory having spread far and wide, having at his command numerous troops, he began to fall away from his master and to plot against him. With gifts and money he had bound to himself several Rajahs, and he infested the seas and all the Malabar coast, so that he had become formidable to the Zamorin himself, who desired to curb him, but mistrusted his own strength. About this time, as has been written in the last letter, the Malabar fleet having captured a Portuguese ship, a Father who had been administering to the soldiers, was made prisoner. The Zamorin, having oftentimes spoken with the captive Father, began to plan an alliance with the Portuguese in order to strengthen his arms with theirs, and having prepared letters of peace to the Viceroy, the Archbishop and the Fathers of the Society, gave them to the Father, whom, of course, he freed from captivity. In the letters he gave faculty to preach the Gospel, he promised that Churches would be built at

his own expense, and said that the Fathers of the Society, who eventually would be sent to him, would be treated with all the consideration which men of such faith deserved." The Viceroy then was Mathias Albuquerque, who immediately obtained from the Provincial and the Visitor that Fr. Francis Roz, s.j., who was working among the Thomas Christians, and Father Francis Acosta, the very man who had been freed from captivity, should be sent to the Zamorin.

2. Arrival of the Fathers in Calicut

"The Zamorin, filled with incredible joy at their arrival, sent two great officials, who, at the head of a maniple of soldiers, went out two leagues to meet them. Having entered the town, the Zamorin himself with his Court came out of his palace to greet them. Having embraced Fr. Roz, taking him by the hand, he led him into the royal palace, and then asked them both to sit down, thanking them that, though the war was not yet ended, they had not hesitated to entrust themselves to him. Next, beginning to praise the Portuguese, testified to three great things: the first that they were above all others in keeping faith; the second that they excelled in military valour by land and sea; finally that the wealth which they had acquired for themselves was very great. Then, turning to the officials after having transacted some lighter business, he gave letters to the Fathers signed by his own hand, in which freedom was granted to all to become Christians; those who should do so would not be deprived of the honours they might have, they would be free to testate, to inherit, in short they would have the same rights which Christians enjoy among Christians. It had never been possible to obtain these things from the Rajah of Cochin, which greatly prevents both the small people and the great from embracing the faith of Christ. Finally the Churches and houses of the Fathers to be an asylum for all, who, on account of their crimes, fearing the punishment of the law should take shelter therein; nor should anyone, in peace or war give them trouble. Often the Zamorin used to speak alone and very familiarly with the Fathers, and he was glad to hear from them the explanation of the ten commandments, saying that they (in Malabar) differed from us in one only, the sixth.

He ordered his cousin, who was most intimate with him, to learn all these things more accurately; and this man, though a heathen, delighted in them so much as to keep only one wife, to abstain from flesh meat on Fridays, and to laugh at their idols and superstitions. He promised to receive baptism at the first opportunity.

3. Peace between the Portuguese and the Zamorin

"Finally they began to treat of peace. For that purpose the Portuguese Commandant of the Malabar fleet was called through the Fathers, he being at anchor nearby. He was Alvaro Branchez. Both parties agreed that Goa should be consulted as to the conditions of peace. Two officials of the highest nobility, with a third man, very much esteemed among his own, and well versed in Portuguese affairs, were sent on an embassy to Goa together with Father Roz, whose advice they had to use. Gifts were sent as well.

The Embassy was received with great honour, and, having seen the Viceroy, they desired to speak with the "Great Father", for so they called our Provincial, to whom they were to present the demands of the Zamorin, signed with his own hand, and his letters of thanks. Therein the Zamorin asked that several Fathers should be sent to him, and in a special manner that Fr. Roz should be allowed to remain with him. Having been received with great honour, they behaved, in their own way, with great civility. They greatly admired the splendour of our Churches, and expressed the desire that the Zamorin should build similar ones in his own dominions. They boasted of the peace, uttering threats against neighbouring Princes, who, unless they obeyed, would be subjugated. When the conditions of peace were determined, they returned with gifts both for the king and for themselves. The task of confirming the alliance by oath was given to the Commander Alvaro Branchez.

In order to satisfy the Zamorin who demanded a greater number of Priests, Father Antonio Schipani, S.J., a learned man, well versed in the things of Malabar and of ardent zeal was added to Father Acosta, who had remained with the King. Father Schipani was to be the Superior of the Mission.

As to Fr. Roz, since he could not abandon the Thomas Christians, he was ordered to go to Calicut now and then.

The Ambassadors were received by the Zamorin with great joy. Immediately all the Portuguese and the Christians, who were war prisoners, were liberated; the war booty was returned; and so were returned all the arms that had been taken in battle, and which were kept in the Fort. Now to the oath with which the peace conditions were to be made firm. A field was chosen outside the city, near the sea. The Fathers put up there a high Cross, well adorned. On the appointed day, the Zamorin with the Crown Prince, many high Officials and numerous soldiers came; the Portuguese fleet was at anchor near the shore. In order to testify his own and the King's satisfaction, the chief of the Officials promised that he would put up a set of lamps in the Church of the Fathers, to burn there for ever. When everything was ready, guns and mortars were fired, and Alvaro, accompanied by his men came on shore. He embraced the Zamorin, and Officers embraced Officers. In order that the sworn peace should be stronger, first the Zamorin, then all the rest adored the Holy Cross. Then, on the same day, in the same field, a place was chosen to build the Church. The Zamorin first dug up some earth to lay the foundations. The Fathers and the others, with great fervour, continued the work, and removed the earth. The place for the Fathers' house was chosen likewise, and the task of preaching the Gospel was undertaken. Many gave their names to the Christian Faith and their instruction was begun with the favour of the Zamorin, as it appears from the following letter of the same to Father Visitor."

4. Letters to Father Visitor

The Zamorin wrote thus: "The Fathers who are here with me will write to you how much they are loved by me and how I do nothing without their advice, for they are men of the greatest faith and prudence, and they love me truly and cordially. Alvaro Branchez will testify the same, from whom I begged to deal with you about my requests. For I trust that, as the beginnings of the Fathers' work are so promising, the issue will likewise be most happy. What, in the presence of Alvaro I promised, the same will be ratified,

the more so that it will be pleasing to me and glorious to the Portuguese name. Now, since your person can do much to safeguard our friendship, I ask of you not to be wanting in your co-operation, for you have great influence with the Viceroys and with the King himself. I thank you most heartily for the Fathers whom you have sent, for they bring me manyfold advantages and are most attached to me. We hope further that many will receive the Holy Law of Christ; and this will afford me the greatest pleasure."

THE ZAMORIN.

The letter of the Commander of the Fleet, Alvaro Branchez, is as follows:—"Fr. Francis Roz did so much in bringing about this peace, that very little is due to myself. Hence I think it my duty to testify to his endeavours, industry and virtue, so that he should lack neither praise nor gratitude. The Zamorin and his people have been so taken up with his prudence, civility and gravity, that they are doing their very best to give to the Fathers some residence in the royal city. Which thing is thought to be most opportune both to spread the Faith of Christ and to secure the King's dominion. To this in fact it is necessary that peace should be preserved; and this is the work proper of your Society."

5. THE EMBASSY OF FATHER CHRISTOPHER CASTRO

Things were as have been described, when the Viceroy Don Francisco de Gama succeeded to Mathias Albuquerque. De Gama and the Zamorin endeavoured with all their might to exterminate Kunhale. Unless this was done, peace would never be secure. The Viceroy then put at the head of the fleet his own brother, Aloysius Gama, and two of our Fathers left with him. While the fleet was gathered in Goa during the winter, the Zamorin began to grow suspicious lest the Portuguese, after having conquered Kunhale, should turn against him. Hence he wrote to Fr. Christopher Castro, Rector of the College of Cochin, inviting him to come and deal with him on very important matters. The Father, after having taken counsel, left with some of the Priests that were working among the Thomas Christians, and accompanied by the Commander of Cranganore with a company of soldiers. In the journey they were received everywhere with great courtesy, till they reached Palur, a place of Thomas Christians, in the dominions of the Zamorin. The Zamorin, together with his officials, was waiting for them near the Christian Church.

"Having greeted the Fathers, he withdrew to his palace, which was about half a league distant. Next day, as the Fathers were going to see him, he came to meet them half way, with the Crown-Prince, many noblemen and soldiers. Then, having received them into his house with every mark of esteem, he began to treat with the Rector about the business of the peace. Was he certain that the Portuguese would keep the promises made by Branchez? The Father reassured him on the matter, and then it was decided that letters should be sent to the Viceroy and to Fr. Visitor (Nicholas Pimenta), asking the latter to come to the Zamorin, in order to settle some points about the peace treaty. There came a favourable answer, and then Fr. Castro went to Goa in order to explain in person what had been dealt with with the Zamorin. From there he returned to Calicut in order to settle the peace and to foster the Christian Faith. The affairs with the Zamorin having been settled, the Fathers, on their return, stopped in a place of Thomas Christians, where they spent the whole night in hearing Confessions, and next day the whole population received the Blessed Sacrament. Ours received great edification upon discovering such piety among people but recently reunited with the Catholic Church. From there, accompanied by Christians and pagans, they proceeded to the sea, and thence to Cochin. ...... Now this journey was of great advantage also to the pagans, for the Caimale, Governor of that Coast, was a prisoner of the Zamorin, who had also forbidden the people from gathering the cocoanuts. At Fr. Castro's prayers, the Caimale was freed, and the prohibition lifted. Hence the estimation of the Christians grew among the people."

6. HOSTILITIES AGAINST KUNHALE; THE ZEAL OF ARCHBISHOP MENEZES

The Zamorin, seeing that Kunhale was harassing him ever more and more, gathered 50,000 Nayars and decided to destroy the growing power of the Pirate. Thereupon the

Viceroy, convinced of the Zamorin's fidelity, renewed the peace with him and decided to give no quarter to Kunhale.

The Moors in Calicut were growing restive, and the Fathers were advised to leave the city, which they did, in spite of the Zamorin's displeasure. But God consoled them. For a cousin of the Zamorin, who, by frequent converse with the Fathers, had been instructed in the truths of our Holy Faith on the very night in which the Fathers left Calicut, was baptized. Later on he was confirmed by Archbishop Menezes, and, though hidden to all as a Christian, he gave to all the example of a good Christian life. Now war was preparing.

The Archbishop, on his way to the South, stopped near Kunhale, where he was received in grand style by the Portuguese fleet. The Viceroy had charged him to study the situation, to take the advice of the various Commanders and see how best the Kunhale could be brought to subjection. The Archbishop sent back a ship to Goa to acquaint the Viceroy of how matters stood and to urge him on to action. Meanwhile the Zamorin was insisting with Father Visitor that the Fathers should return to Calicut, which they did. The Archbishop, having fulfilled his political mission began to attend more directly to what belonged to his office.

Two youngsters, fearing punishment for their many misdeeds, had found refuge with Kunhale.

It was four days that they had turned Mahomedans, and they came out of the fortress on elephants, accompanied by men dancing and playing all sorts of music, while the artillery was booming from the fort. All the fleet felt sorrow and shame, and the Archbishop heavy at heart for the perdition of the two young men, entered into his room on the ship, and wrote them an affectionate letter, exhorting them to return to the bosom of Holy Church, promising them all help.

He sent the letter through a heathen spy; but they not answering to the first, he wrote a second and a third and a fourth letter. And it pleased God that the two young men, moved by the great charity of the Archbishop, after some hesitation, decided to return. Then the Archbishop moved to Cannanore, to visit the place and to await there the two prodigals. But they were taken prisoners on the way. They were not put to death, however, but were kept on till after the battle, wishing the Moors to celebrate their own victory with their death. But it happened otherwise, for one of them died during the battle, while calling to the Portuguese from a window to come and enter the Fort which was undefended.

The other succeeded to run away, and was received by the Archbishop with great charity. He went with him to the Serra, and stayed with him for some days till he did penance, put his affairs in order and lived on with great peace and happiness.

7. The Attack on the Fortress on Kunhale

In the *Nova Relatio* we read: "Meanwhile the Zamorin in order to avenge himself for old offences, and at the same time, to please the Portuguese, declared war on the Archpirate, the Kunhale, who in the past had served under him. The Viceroy, profiting of this opportunity, got ready a strong fleet against the Kunhale, in which were sent two of ours. On the fixed day the Portuguese made a strong attack, thinking they would come out victorious at the first attempt. But, the enemy fighting with furious determination, it was necessary to give in, some officers and soldiers falling in battle. Our Priests, acting as Chaplains both on land and sea, endeavoured with all their might to work for the salvation of Souls." So far the *Nova Relatio*. In the Notes we give a letter of Francis Roz, S.J., dated from the Camp of the Zamorin on the 9th of March 1599, where he describes in detail the battle against Kunhale. (1)

8. The Zamorin's Interview with Archbishop Menezes

Kunhale, emboldened by the failure of the Portuguese, assumed the title of "DEFENDER OF MOHAMMEDANISM". The Zamorin, however, had not left Kottakal, where the Fort was, but continued the siege through the Monsoon. Meanwhile, the Synod of Diamper having been concluded, Archbishop Menezes was returning to Goa towards the end of 1599. He was accompanied by two brave Captains, who, with their soldiers, desired to enter the service of the Portuguese. They were St. Thomas Christians. Later on they fought against the Kunhale, and distinguished themselves for their valour.

The Archbishop, not knowing the will of the Viceroy as to the continuation of the siege, wanted to proceed without speaking to the Zamorin. Fr. Roz, S.J., who had done so much at the Synod, had come back earlier to Calicut, and, when the Zamorin knew that the Archbishop was passing, he sent to him Fr. Roz together with his cousin, by name Umare Charare, (*alias Erari*). They persuaded him to stop and see the Zamorin, who, still sorry for the ill-success of the first attack on the Kunhale was somewhat mistrustful of the Portuguese. Now Umare Charare had been secretly baptized by Fr. Roz and acted as a link between the Portuguese and the Zamorin. The main reason of his coming, however, was that he desired to receive Confirmation at the hands of the Archbishop. This, however, had to be done in secret. So when night came the Archbishop, with great joy, took him to a small room, which had been conveniently adorned, and there, in the presence of Fr. Roz, he put on the sacred vestments, and kneeling down, for he wearing the mitre and the room being very low, he could not stand, instructed him about the virtue of the Sacrament which he then conferred on him. The young man shed so many tears, that both the Archbishop and Fr. Roz were much edified to see such devotion and faith.

They then proceeded to Kunhale's Fort, where the Zamorin was. This got ready a brocade tent, with many carpets, and two chairs, one for the Archbishop and the other for himself.

The Archbishop landed with all his retinue and many soldiers and proceeded to the Zamorin's tent. Cannons and arquebuses were fired and there was a grand demonstration. The Zamorin, having arranged his soldiers in the shape of a crescent, was waiting for the Archbishop. He was a man of fine appearance, middle aged, covered with jewels. The bracelets were running from the elbows to the wrists, and two pages were supporting his arms, both to increase his majesty and to help to carry all those precious ornaments. He had a necklace of magnificent gems, and ear-rings of most precious stones, but so heavy that his ears were lengthened out even to touch the shoulders. He was naked from the waist up, as is the custom in Malabar. His loin cloth was made of silk embroidered with gold, of great value. His girdle was of gold and precious stones, so that he was carrying upon himself great riches.

Behind the King was the heir-apparent; a boy of fine appearance, well dressed with the sword raised. Near the person of the King were all his Lords. When the Archbishop reached the Zamorin, all discharged their arquebuses, and the two withdrew within the tent, where the Zamorin commanded the heir-apparent to make his reverence to the Archbishop, which he did, speaking Portuguese; for he was very proud of knowing this language. Then the King commanded the Prince to go and welcome the Portuguese who were on the beach, and he told the Lords to keep order among the soldiers. So they remained alone with Fr. Roz, who was seated on a carpet. After many compliments from both sides, the Zamorin said he was very glad to see him, both on account of the renown which he had throughout Malabar, and of the friendliness he had shown in business with him. Then he asked whether he wanted him to open his heart. The Archbishop answered that the affairs which are veiled and not manifested cannot succeed well; the King, by opening his heart, would show how much confidence he had in his friendship. The King then told him how he had undertaken the war against the Kunhale, who was becoming unbearable both to himself and to the Portuguese, and how, in spite of all the wrongs he had received from the Portuguese, he desired to be friendly with them. "Yet"—he continued—"notwithstanding all the demonstration of friendship, I have held, and many have endeavoured to persuade me of it, that the Portuguese wanted my help in order to take the Kunhale's Fort, to strengthen themselves therein, and then, from there, to fight against me and deprive me of my kingdom, thus avenging ancient wrongs. I hold, however, that this infamous design does not finally come from their hearts, for though the Portuguese have always been enemies to the Calicut Kings, I do not envy my enemies their glory, their wealth and their virtues, and I have always remarked in them this heroic virtue that they are straightforward, truthful and do not commit treachery. But the King of Cochin, who is friendly to the Portuguese, has written to me that he knew their aims and counsels. And, though Calicut and Cochin have always

been at war, yet, being my brother in the law, which is common to us both, he has warned me of their designs. To all these reports I refused credence, knowing how much annoyed is Cochin at my alliance with the Portuguese, whom he always gains to his side against Calicut. Yet, considering the Portuguese plans, and how they had not told me when they would land and attack the Kunhale, so that, they on one side, and I with the Nayars on the other, should have launched the attack together, I came to believe that the Portuguese wanted to take the Fort without me, and keep it to themselves, as the Rajah of Cochin has told me. In fact, the bad luck which they have had, with the loss of so many soldiers, has made me believe that God did not wish to give them victory, for their intention was bad, as they had proceeded without that sincerity and fidelity of which they boast so much. Though the massacre which they have made of their enemies, and the invincible courage with which they have fought, have shown well the strength and valour which they have never lacked."

The Archbishop was surprised at the words of the Zamorin, and answered in this fashion:—"If Your Highness and the Kings of Calicut had as many times treated with the Portuguese on points of friendship and peace, and experienced their faith and integrity as you have experienced the edge of their swords and their strength in war, you would never have held them in suspicion—a thing which is far removed from the truth and from what they have promised. For, though the Portuguese wage war against all their enemies, yet they are not accustomed to deceive anyone. But here we see the designs of the Rajah of Cochin who resents that Your Highness should have made peace with the Portuguese. Now if Your Highness had answered his warnings as I did, when he told me not to trust you, because he knew—as he said—that Your Highness had determined to rush on the Portuguese as soon as they should have landed, thus to avenge your ancestors, he would not have deceived you with all his fables. But I dissimulated his underhand dealings; and so Your Highness must do now that you desire our friendship, without fear of any treason. For then his intentions will be unmasked and the intentions of the Portuguese will be manifest. Now does Your Highness know the office I hold among the Christians?"

"Yes", answered the Zamorin, "Your Lordship is the Father of all the Christians in India, and the great Brahmin, whom all obey in the things pertaining to their religion; and no Government can do without it."

"Then", said the Archbishop, "does Your Highness know what is the greatest oath among the Christians?" "Yes", answered the King, "it is the book of their Law and the Cross which they adore." "Now", said the Archbishop, "I who hold that office, before all these Lords, I will swear by the book of our Holy Law, and by the Holy Cross which we adore and which is the sign of our Redemption, that the Portuguese never had such an intention and that it never passed through their imagination."

"Enough", said the King, "the word of a person of such authority, as is Your Lordship, is worth any oath to me."

But the Archbishop was not satisfied; he desired that the Lords should be called in, and in special manner Larneve who is the most powerful, the most intimate with the King and the most opposed to the Portuguese. He, being friendly with Kunhale, was endeavouring to withdraw the Zamorin from the war and from the Portuguese alliance. The Lords being called in, the Archbishop swore in their presence what he had said, on the Cross which he was wearing. When the Zamorin heard that he said: "Now a weight has been lifted from my heart, which had been oppressing me for a year, which made me so reserved and fearful in the carrying on of this war. But henceforth Your Lordship will see how I shall carry on the war and the siege, relying on these words." Thus they began to treat of the siege, how the King ought to send more soldiers, and prepare to attack the fortress and destroy the trenches, which were very strong, so that the Goa army upon its arrival, should find everything ready. To all this the Zamorin gave his orders, according to the lists and memoirs furnished him by the Archbishop, and began to carry on the war with greater fire and determination. He called immediately to arms some 50,000 Nayars, as he had promised, and he could do it, for, whenever he likes, he can, with great ease put on the field 150,000 men. For the rest, this is a point of great moment to have removed the clouds of suspicion from the Zamorin's mind, in order to take the fortress (as it was taken later on), and

not to leave any seed of dissension among the Nayars and the Portuguese (as it had happened so often). All these matters having been settled, the Zamorin congratulated the Archbishop for all he had accomplished in the Serra, among the Thomas Christians, but he was sorry he had not been able to visit all the Churches in his Kingdom. The Archbishop thanked him and then said "Your Highness has broached a subject of which I desire to speak, for the Churches of Your Kingdom are the poorest and the least favoured in the whole of Malabar. Now, considering your great power and how faithful are the Christians of St. Thomas, they ought to be helped." "Your Lordship", said the King, "may write all the letters you think fit, and I shall sign them immediately." This pleased the Archbishop very much, who asked him frankly to give permission to all his subjects who might so desire to become Christian, and to allow freedom for the preaching of the Gospel.

This he granted, and the letters were drawn up on the field also that a Church could be built for our Christians in Calicut, which he also granted, and it was built, and given to the Fathers of the Society, who are there even now. After all this they saluted each other and the Archbishop mounted on his ship. Before leaving, however, he arranged that some of his own soldiers should stay on, and that 100 Nayars should be sent to occupy a pass through which the Kunhale was getting his provisions. Thus, the supplies being cut off the fortress had finally to yield. Having then settled everything, the Archbishop proceeded to Mangalore.[1]

9. New Expedition Against Kunhale

Since 1595 Mahomet Kunhale Marcahad fortified the town of Kunhale, on the Kotta river, by sea and by land. On the land side he had made a deep ditch with double trenches two and a half yards wide, and at intervals had erected towers armed with cannon. Between the two creeks he had built a strong wall having a tower at either end, whilst along the seashore he had erected a palisade, connecting two bastions, in which were heavy cannon that commanded the entrance to

[1] *Cf. Jornada*—lib. III, Ch. IV.

the harbour. This entrance was further obstructed by means of masts strongly chained together.

We have seen how he successfully withstood the first siege and attack in March 1599. After the Portuguese defeat, the Zamorin did not give up the siege, but continued it in a half-hearted manner. After the interview with Archbishop Menezes, however, he redoubled his efforts. Don Ferdinao de Noronha had been helping him with 12 ships to prevent the Kunhale from getting relief by sea. As commander of the new expedition was appointed Andre Furtado de Mendoza, who proceeded South with three galleys and fifty-four other vessels.

Now we shall follow the course of events as it is given in Fr. Pimenta's narrative. He says: "Since Fr. Emmanuel Gasper and Br. Alexis de Almeida were with the fleet; and since Frs. Francis Roz and Theophilus Massi had been working with the Zamorin to bring about an alliance with him and the Portuguese against the Kunhale, I thought it would be of God's glory if I were to add here what the Fathers related to me about the successful issue of this war. In fact it can truly be said that no victory won so far by the Portuguese has been so glorious and so fruitful for the spreading of Christianity as the present one.

The Commander-in-Chief, Don Andre Furtado de Mendoza left Goa with the fleet on December 3, 1600, and reached the Fortress of the Kunhale on the 15th of the same month.

Before leaving he had chosen Our Lady as Protectress of the fleet, and had a solemn Mass sung in her honour. At the same time he had asked the Fathers to commend him to God and to recite the Litanies of the Saints in our Church, that was in his palace. He also obtained that some Fathers should accompany the fleet as Chaplains.

Being the Prefect of the Sodality, he recommended the Sodalists to knock at heaven's doors with their supplications for the happy success of the war.

Having reached Kunhale's waters he endeavoured first of all to pacify the King of Banguel and the Queen of Ullal who were ready to fight each other, for he knew that their dissensions would have been prejudicial to his success. Since the enemy were getting supplies through the river Maim

in the Kingdom of Cannanore, and three thousand bags of rice were ready there, he occupied the river's mouth.

10. The Zamorin and the Admiral

"The Zamorin breathed more freely when he heard of the advent of Don Andre, well knowing his prudence and strength, and how formidable he was to the Moors. In fact the Moors were saying that their Fort could not be captured by anyone except by him. And their courage failed them when the fleet appeared before them. The Zamorin first sent three of his Lords to greet him on his ship; then he himself came out about three thousand yards towards the sea, from the city of Calicut, and received him into a splendid tent, wherefrom all having withdrawn, except Fr. Roz, who acted as interpreter, he spoke at length with the Admiral. The latter, in few but telling words, exposed his plans and how he meant to take the Fortress. He told him also not to listen to counsellors, who secretly favoured the enemy. This over, he put a magnificent chain, which he was wearing, round the Zamorin's neck, who, though covered with jewels, showed that he greatly appreciated the gift. At this meeting they dealt of hostages that should be mutually given for greater security. The Zamorin on his side would give the Prince of Tanur and a Carnavor, first Governor in the kingdom. But when he showed displeasure that they should be sent to Cochin, to his rebellious enemies, the Fathers assured him that they themselves would guarantee their safety. And to Cochin sent they were, where they were received and treated with splendid goodwill. Upon visiting our College there, they noticed unmistakable signs of benevolence and love and with great admiration and edification they witnessed the procession of the Confraternity of Mercy, where many Sodalists, every Friday of Lent, take the discipline. To the Zamorin two noble Portuguese were given as hostages.

About this time the King of Cochin sent a Brahmin with letters to the Zamorin wherein he advised him to make peace with Kunhale, and to accept the conditions of peace, for in the end he would be his vassal. Of other things he would be informed by the bearer, who warned him not to trust the Portuguese, and not to allow them to get a footing in his own dominions; for, under the pretext

of commerce, they would erect fortresses near the sea, and little by little would penetrate into the very heart of the kingdom. But the Zamorin was well aware that this advice did not come from a sincere heart, but rather from envy of his success (the Rajah in fact was a rebel). He decided, however, to open the whole thing to Fr. Roz, who told him to be absolutely sure of the Portuguese good faith; and so the Brahmin was dismissed with fair words.

Meanwhile the Admiral was strenuously preparing for the siege, and decided to go and acquaint the Zamorin of everything. He availed himself of the opportunity to reassure him, and, in the presence of Fr. Roz, to discuss various points connected with the success of the war.

Since the Arioli were helping Kunhale from the North, Don Andre, with gifts and threats, persuaded them to desist, and obtained from them, timber, workmen, elephants. In fact they sent him 8 Kurups—most important men—as hostages, and forbade under the pain of death that any help should be given to the Kunhale.

He got to know from some leaders in the Fort that the 800 Moors inside suffered from great scarcity of provisions. He then surrounded the Fort with 1,200 Portuguese and 12,000 Nayars, besides those that had come from Cochin. Since the enemy had obstructed the mouth of the harbour, Don Andre, with the help of men and elephants, succeeded in transporting by land 17 ships into the river to be used in the siege.

11. The Festival at Tirunavayi (2)

"At this time the Zamorin had to be present at some festival which takes place every 12 years, and where all extortions which the Lords may have exacted from Brahmins and others, whom the Pagans hold in honour on account of their superstition, are remitted. The Zamorin either compensates for wrongs sustained, or punishes the guilty. Once upon a time all the Rajahs of Malabar used to attend this great festival. But now that the King of Cochin has freed himself from the Zamorin's yoke, he holds a separate festivity.

The origin of the feast is as follows: A certain Brahmin from Tanur had been accused of a false crime. Full of sorrow, he betook himself to the banks of the Ganges, which these

people honour as a divinity. Having passed there some years in great austerities, while he was thinking of going back to his country, the Goddess Ganga appeared to him in a vision and told him that on the last day of February she would appear on the river of his place, which would flood the country, and would move up against current. In order that the words of the Brahmin should carry conviction, his own book and stool would be seen floating against current. The Goddess commanded that all the Kings and Chieftains of Malabar and all the neighbouring people should be invited to the festival. The Brahmin did as he was told, and things turning out as predicted, he was freed from infamy.

To celebrate this event an infinite multitude of people flocks to the place of the miracle. The Zamorin having spent 28 days in bathing in the river and in offering various sacrifices to Ganga, returns to the city in all his glory, shining with jewels, sitting on an elephant covered with gold, and surrounded by the multitude in whose presence he mounts the throne, magnificently adorned, and at the firing of guns he bows three times to the people and the people to him. Then his gladiators play before him. After the play Princes and peoples make obeisance. In the meantime the Zamorin is never abandoned by his bodyguard. The expenses met by the Zamorin on this occasion mount up to 20,000 ducats.

But the devil, in order to lead souls to perdition, has contrived a horrible trick. Some 80 years previously the Zamorin had got rid of some neighbouring King; and there was a law among his heirs that some soldiers should, during the festival offer themselves to death, not, however, without a desperate defence. On the last occasion there were 30, who, leaping among the crowd, slaughtered a great number, till they themselves were cut to pieces by the bodyguard.

12. Father Roz's Work

"Father Francis Roz with some Portuguese accompanied the King to the festival, which seems to have been arranged by Divine Providence. For some of the most intimate friends of the Zamorin had suggested to him to stop the siege of Kunhale's Fort. But the Zamorin told everything to the Father who reminded him of the promise he had made to the Admiral

to expel the Moors from his Kingdom. During those 28 or 30 days they often conferred together, and the Zamorin confessed that, but for the Father's advice, he would never have gone on with the siege.

Besides, whenever the King was appearing in public, he desired the Father to be with him, and gave him a most honourable place. He had also assigned him a dwelling near his own, and well guarded. The Brahmins could not bear it, though outwardly they had to honour the Father.

And they wondered exceedingly when, the conversation falling upon some mystery of the Christian faith, he solidly explained it, and from their very books showed the foolishness of their superstition, and evinced a deep knowledge of their most secret tenets—though they gave no signs of conversion. Among the Brahmins there is one sect, which does not care for idols, and which guards chastity till 20 or even 25 years. For this purpose its adepts eat every day the marrow of a certain fruit called caruza, which makes them impotent for a time. They do not abstain, like the rest, from eating flesh meat or fish and from drinking wine. They do not cremate the dead. When they come out, someone preceeds them shouting Poo, Poo, *i.e., Away, Away*. The King pays honour to them not they to the King. I saw other Brahmins inside iron cages, looking haggard, covered the head and clothes with ashes in order to do penance. I saw others burning part of their bodies. They are all, so to say, drunk with the wine of vain glory, and, incapable of Christian humility, they make much of popular admiration and applause.

On account of the peace between the Zamorin and the Portuguese, the Thomas Christians came to the festival in greater numbers than ever before. One day while the King was passing before my house, they that were with me, saluted him, and the King, with great kindness, asked how they were, and then told the Father that he would gladly give audience to their leaders. They, together with some Priests, dressed up beautifully, did not hesitate to present themselves to him. The King showed the greatest pleasure, and asked them many questions about religion. They answered well and said that their law agreed in everything with that of Fr. Francis (Roz), the more so that now they accepted the Archbishop of Goa

as their Pastor and Prelate. Then the King said: There is great friendship between me the Archbishop and the Fathers. Tell me now what I can do for you. I am ready to give you a place in Calicut itself and in my kingdom. And, after having shown them other signs of goodwill, ordered that food should be given to them and a guard of Nayars to accompany them to their native place.

13. Continuation of the Siege

"During the festivities the Zamorin let the Admiral know that he desired to be present at the taking of the Fort. The Admiral agreed, but meanwhile harassed the enemy in every way. He freed the harbour from the logs, anchors and chains with which it had been closed. When he heard that Kunhale had obtained from the Nayak of Madura permission to build a fort at Ramanacor—which would have been a disaster to Portugal and the Christians—and that he held ships ready towards the South, wherein he could make good his escape, the Admiral decided to destroy the Fort, which was done with great losses of the enemy, and not without Portuguese blood.

The festival being over, the Zamorin and the Admiral decided that, to avoid useless bloodshed, permission should be given to all to leave the Fort. About 300 Moors and 600 women came out, reduced to such an extremity that they moved all to pity.

The Fort was situated on a peninsula, surrounded by water on three sides, with double walls and two towers. In a previous effort to take one of them 200 Portuguese and 1,000 Nayars had fallen. But now they took it easily.

One day news were brought to the Admiral that the Kunhale had agreed with the Zamorin's officers to manage to escape secretly. Though a Captain was guarding the exits with 500 soldiers, yet, since one man, by night could easily escape their vigilance the Admiral decided to finish the business in one day. He exhorted his own to obey. Then, gathering all the officers, he told them to betake themselves each one to his own ship, and thereto obey whomsoever he should nominate their leader; for on their prompt and exact obedience depended the successful issue of the enterprise. Calling then



MALABAR WARRIORS
(XVI Century)

the one, whom he wanted to be the leader, told him: "When you will receive my ring, you will, with God's help get inside one of the walls, and then you will never leave it". The same he ordered to another man, telling him secretly on which side to launch the assault. He himself would attack the Fort's walls—a thing most difficult and arduous. These things over, he crossed to the other side, and fully armed, and accompanied by select men, he endeavoured to clear the Zamorin's mind of the last traces of suspicion against the Portuguese. Then he sent one ring to the Captain who commanded the ships at the harbour's mouth, and the other ring to the Captain of the ships towards the river. For a while he delayed with the Zamorin, but, when he heard the artillery, he left the King suddenly, and rushed to his troops, whom he led to the bastions before the other soldiers had finished landing. In a moment the walls were attacked and the royal standard was flying on the top. He was one of the first; some of the Moors ran into the Fort, others, not knowing that we were occupying the river, tried to save themselves by swimming. The Admiral ordered that fires should be thrown from the walls into the streets inside. Thus the fort was pressed on all sides. But it could yet be defended, for the Moors had about three hundred pieces of cannon, though small. So the Admiral ordered heavier bombardment. We did not suffer much. Andre Rodriguez, however, had his teeth knocked off by a ball; and he said humorously: "That Moor foresaw that I would not eat any more with them". Kunhale wondered at the quickness and untiring efforts of the Admiral; and the Moors, seeing him rushing everywhere were saying that his soul was filling four bodies. Others believed that he could not be hit on account of a ring given him by the Archbishop.

Our Fathers were not idle; they encouraged the soldiers and they chiefly heard the Confessions of the wounded in the main galley, which had been transformed into a hospital. Besides, they endeavoured to allay the Zamorin's suspicions. He said openly that he had known them for four years, and he was sure of their sincerity and faith. On the contrary he was not so sure of the Captains, who were ever coming and going. The Admiral and others had of him the same, or even better, esteem.

14. Quarrels and Suspicions

"Much booty was burned; of the rest both Portuguese and Nayars possessed themselves. The Moors had buried much treasure. To unearth it were sent everywhere one Nayar and one Portuguese but on account of the latter's ignorance of the native customs, and of the former's greed, there was fear of great quarrels. In fact one of the chief Nayars was killed. The matter was brought to the King, who promised that, through Fr. Roz, he would inform the Admiral and have the culprit punished. But they shouted and threatened that they had no King, because he used the Portuguese instead of them in settling the business, and their fury went so far that, when the Zamorin had given orders that Fr. Roz should be sent for, some Nayars, with swords raised, suddenly came after him; and they would have killed him near the palace of the Heir-apparent, if the latter had not succeeded in freeing him from their hands. He kept him with himself till the Admiral, through the other two Fathers, who were with him, quieted the two parties, and showed to the Nayars that they were not without fault.

While Don Andre was busy in bombarding the Fort, somebody came and told him that the Zamorin, who had promised to give up the Kunhale to him, had arranged, for one hundred thousand ducats, to allow him free passage through his dominions, though the terms of the pact were not quite certain as yet. The Admiral got so angry at this, that in 24 hours he succeeded in exciting the Nayars against the Zamorin. The Fathers were very sorry, for they feared that the war would take a turn for the worse, the more so that, when the Admiral had been invited to discuss matters, he had answered that he would come, but with arms and in the open field. The King refused to appear with his soldiers, believing it would be sufficient for him to come accompanied by only one soldier. The armies were standing on either side, watching the two leaders who were parleying in the middle. The Admiral said: "Sire, I, by God's grace am the Commander-in-Chief, who now appoints Princes and Kings, now deposes them, and even condemns them to death. I swear by Christ's Law that should you help Kunhale to escape, I with these soldiers will leave no stone unturned till the city of Calicut with all your kingdom

be destroyed!" The interpreter, who was a good Christian from Ceylong (Quilon?), under advice from the Fathers, translated these threats with great calm and moderation. But, though the Zamorin did not understand the Admiral's words, yet he realised from his gestures and from the tone of his voice that he was burning with rage. So he suddenly changed his mind, and he declared publicly by a letter signed with his own hand, that he would give up not only the Kunhale, but also 40 leaders among the Moors.

Though, he added, it was against custom to give up one person to another, yet, since the Kunhale was a traitor, as a traitor he would be treated. Then they embraced one another, and by music and artillery they showed their joy.

The Zamorin, having been so often deceived by the advice of his own, began to mistrust them and put all his confidence in the Fathers.

15. Kunhale is Taken Prisoner

"Kunhale, noticing that the Fort was in ruins, and the enemy could enter whenever they pleased, and that their food would not suffice even for a day, decided to yield himself up to the Zamorin, if he could obtain to have his life spared. But, as he related to his guards, he dreamt during the night that the Zamorin would give him up to the Admiral, who would condemn him to die. They say that then he armed himself and urged the troops to make a sudden sortie; but the soldiers let him know that it would be foolish to offer themselves to die like that. Then some of his pseudo-priests, taking him aside, and reciting some prayers over him, persuaded him that he would not die, and that no confidence should be placed in dreams. The Moors asked for an interview with the Admiral, but the latter—knowing their cunning—told them that he had nothing to do with them; if, however, they desired to speak with the Zamorin their messenger should do so with one of his Captains, who would see to it that he did not speak with anybody else. The Moors accepted. They had two interviews, and the Zamorin sent word that towards evening he would send a report of what had taken place. But he would not come himself, till through Emmanuel Gasper, he was assured that no evil would be done to him. He came, and after

a few words the Zamorin with his soldiers on one part of the Fort, and the Admiral with his on the other, arranged a wide passage, through which the besieged should come out.

First appeared the sick, marching four abreast, then the wounded, then the soldiers without arms, and finally the Kunhale, with his Minister, Secretary and Cynale, the Major-domo and other Lords, dressed with a precious dress, and with the scimitar turned downwards in his hand. He looked fear-less, thus hiding the dread of death. The Zamorin ordered that they should deprive him of the scimitar. Then he made a sign to the Admiral that command should be given to take him; and it was done. Then the Nayars began to shout:—"To arms, to arms". But the King explained that it was he who spontaneously gave him up to the Admiral. And so Kunhale, Cinale, the Secretary and forty other Moors were taken prisoners by the Portuguese, four or five having dis-appeared in the confusion. The Zamorin insisted with the Admiral that he should not spare the Kunhale's life.

The Admiral then took the King by the hand, went into the Fort and, except the guns which were equally divided, gave him whatever was found inside, praising him for his fidelity. And, since these people long after such advantages, the King was very much pleased with the liberality of the Admiral, and then it appeared that the Portuguese in no way desired to enslave him and his Kingdom. Nor did the Admiral show himself ungrateful to God, for, falling on his knees, with tears and great feeling thanked God, and the next Saturday, *i.e.*, on the 18th of March, had a Mass of thanks-giving sung in honour of the Blessed Virgin.

16. The End of Kunhale and of His Associates

"The Zamorin in the presence of the Admiral and of all the Officers said so many things in praise of each Father of the Society that, out of modesty they withdrew. The King, however, did not desist, but affirmed that if the alliance had been made between himself and the Portuguese, and if the war had been brought to a successful issue, it was due—he was convinced—to the sincerity and good faith of the Fathers. The Admiral, on the other hand, showing plainly that such words pleased him much, exhorted the Zamorin never to allow the Fathers to leave him if he desired the alliance and friend-ship of the Portuguese.

Finally, having renewed again the peace and alliance, the guns were equally divided, the Fortress, which was as big as a town, was razed to the ground and the Zamorin gave to the Admiral a gold plate on which it was written that till the sun and the moon would last, no place would be allowed to the Moors there, and power was given to the Portuguese to kill as many as they could find there.

A great crowd rushed to see the Kunhale bound in chains, who for the last thirty years had been famous throughout the East. For, with his constant piracies, with the help of the Zamorin, he infested the Indian seas; and from his nest, he had begun to call himself a King, and the Defender of Islam.

All who took to sea endeavoured to make themselves secure with his letters patent—even Portuguese merchants. The previous year he had sent to Mecca a trophy of his victory; namely, an image of his Fort surrounded by the King and by the Portuguese. And he had spread the news among Muslim Princes, and even to the Sultan of Turkey, that the name of the Portuguese had become extinct in India. In fact the Moors were astonished to hear of his fall, and some even sent spies to see if it was true. Kunhale, whenever he showed himself to the public, lamented his ill-luck, and in the prison at Goa confessed that it was God's punishment for having once put on a chasuble in jest, and for having used as a spitoon a consecrated chalice; nay he had killed a Christian slave who was remonstrating with him for his impiety. He died obsti-nate in his perfidy; nor was he converted by anyone, however much they tried.

Different was the case of his Secretary and Minister Cinale. This man, a Chinese by birth, had been taken by the Moor pirates when still a boy and having turned Mahome-dan, became a great enemy of Christianity, and had excogi-tated various torments to pervert the Christians. But when the Father of the Christians told him that he would be exe-cuted, moved by the admonitions of the Fathers, and by the example of other chief Moors, received Baptism.

With the fleet had come to Goa Uniales Carle, nephew of the Zamorin, in order to sign the peace with the Viceroy.

As we know, he had been baptized by Ours and confirmed by the Archbishop. During the war he had given good examples of Christian observance. Once, while walking with one of Ours, had confessed his sins, not to arouse the suspicions of others, for his conversion had been kept secret. While at Goa he was never tired of staying with Ours, and was filled with joy at seeing the multitude and fervour of the new Christians of Salsete.

Once he declared he had been much grieved by his being compelled to leave the church during Mass, in order not to betray himself. One day, being in my room with Fr. Roz, he spoke at length of spiritual things and of the way of converting the Malayalees. I gave him a wax Agnus Dei, which he received on his knees, and kissed and promised he would wear it round his neck till his death. In leaving here he got alms for the Cross erected in Malabar even from his Pagan compatriots. The Archbishop gave them his blessing, that they might return safe and sound to their country, for of two ships, one was sunk, and the other that was carrying our Calicut Procurator was so tossed about by the waves that the passengers were saved with difficulty.

These things I thought of writing with regard to the Mission to the Zamorin."

17. Padre Fenicio's Endeavours to Preserve Peace

Later on we shall speak of Fr. Fenicio's disputations in Calicut. From there it will be seen how friendly the Father was with the Zamorin. Going through the *Annual Letters*, we have gleaned other particulars of the Zamorin's relations with Fr. Fenicio.

We give them here.

The *Annual Letter* of 1605, speaking of Calicut, sounds a note of pessimism. "For"—it says—"in the citadel of Muslim superstition and in the home of Hindu idolatry, we have on one side the perfidy of the Moors and on the other the pride and lust of the Hindus which crush the seed of the heavenly husbandman," and so the two Fathers did in vain—if such work can ever be done in vain—plough and sow the Calicut field.

To increase their difficulties an incident took place, which nearly undid the work of peace which had been built up with such care. A Moor ship, having met the Portuguese fleet, tried to pass on without saluting the flag. The Portuguese thereupon set fire to it. When the news reached Calicut, there was such a commotion among the Moors, that they threatened to wipe out even the name of the Portuguese from the Calicut shore. But the Fathers succeeded first to quiet the rage of the Muslims and secondly to reconfirm the alliance with the Portuguese. That was very important at that time when the Dutch were making their appearance in Indian waters, and were creating serious trouble to Portugal. Padre Fenicio was instrumental to bring about peace. He personally went to Goa to plead with the Viceroy. Several times he went to Cochin to deal with the Admiral; and many a time did he approach the Zamorin. Nor did he succeed only in reconciling the Zamorin with the Portuguese, but he did the same with the Raja of Cranganore.

Guerrero (pp. 124–25) gives us valuable information on these events which took place in 1606, 1607. The Nayars had committed a grievous injustice towards a Cassanar, who belonged to the Thomas Clergy under the Bishop of Cranganore. The Bishop tried his best to induce the King of Paru—according to the customs of the Rajas of this land—to give due satisfaction. But either he refused, or the Bishop thought that by leaving the injury unpunished, there would be occasion for the Nayars to grow bolder and do worse, so he induced the Captain of Cranganore to make war with the King of Paru, which he did immediately, blocking the river with armed boats, which prevented commerce. But the King being obstinate, the Viceroy of India ordered the Captain-in-chief of the Malabar Army to go there and punish the King. The army entered the Paliporto bar, and before the soldiers got on land the Cranganore Fathers, as is the custom, hastened to hear their confessions. After this the soldiers made several assaults, in which they killed many, and destroyed the cocoanut groves; and had there not been such a network of canals and rivers they would have finished the business. Finally the King, returned to his senses, began to treat of peace. In this the arrival of Fr. Fenicio was of incalculable help. The

Zamorin himself had sent him to the King, asking him to make peace with the Portuguese.

And the peace was finally concluded with satisfaction on both sides, though the Christians had the best of it, as it was reasonable. For the King showed himself very yielding and respectful towards the Bishop, on whose behalf this was being done. And the punishment made the Bishop more respected with the Christians and more feared by the Gentiles, among whom his Diocese is scattered.

18. Troubles in Calicut—The Zamorin continues to Protect the Fathers

The short notice about Tanur which we find in the *Annual Letter* of 1610 is optimistic. The people, it says, on hearing about our Holy Religion, find it very good and most reasonable and true. Hence some embrace it. Many, when in trouble, or when they lose things, recommend themselves and make promises to Our Lady and to the Holy Cross; and find help.

"In Calicut"—the letter continues—"there are two Fathers, one of whom is Fr. Fenicio, who works much both in preaching the Gospel (though very few embrace it), and in preserving peace. On the occasion of a commotion stirred up by the Gentiles against the Christians, the Zamorin protected us and punished them. On Maundy Thursday, while we hold service in our Church, the fishermen come along shouting and misbehaving. The Father tries to persuade them to disperse, but one of them threatens him with death, and some Christians are ill-treated and wounded. Thereupon the Zamorin, to show his benevolence towards us, holds an enquiry and condemns to death two of the ringleaders, fines the fishermen, razes to the ground some of their huts and deprives of his office their chief man. He then presents a lamp and a silk cloth to the Church."

In the *Annual Letter* of 1611, besides Calicut and Tanur is mentioned Ponnani, which is described as the second city—after Calicut—in the Zamorin's dominions. The Zamorin had granted faculty to the Fathers to build a Church in Ponnani, and they started one in honour of the Assumption of Our Lady, in spite of strong opposition on the part of the Moors.

One poor wretch who had renounced the faith, came back by God's grace, and brought to the Father all the little idols he had. Three are baptized and many more give hope of early conversion.

The writer then gives a long description of the feast at *Tirinai* (*Tirunavayi*), which we have given elsewhere. There is an interesting detail about a Brahmin, who, during the festivities, had stolen a golden girdle. He was tied to a pole, an object of fear to all; and since he might not be killed, for he was a Brahmin, they blinded him by driving a needle into his eyes.

The writer says that he leaves out many things which had been related to him by Fr. Fenicio who had been present at the feast. Then he passes on to give the number of converts in Calicut during the year: *undecim oviculae* only; for, as he sadly remarks, "*non omnes obediunt Evangelio*". He gives then another reason for such scarcity; namely, the uncertainty of peace between the Zamorin and the Portuguese. Owing to that, many gave hopes of conversion, but never came to the point. And the Fathers were like the peasants, who are ever poor at present, but will surely be wealthy in the near future. Yet—adds the pious writer—should one little soul be brought to Christ through our labour, we shall not have worked in vain, for Christ shed His Blood for one as well as for all. Then he goes on to relate how of the Portuguese fleet two ships were wrecked off the Malabar Coast Some of the sailors were taken by the Moors, some were brought to Calicut. But the Fathers obtained from the Zamorin that all should be freed. Moreover, he granted that the guns which had been captured should be returned to the Portuguese.

19. A Provincial's Difficulties

In October 1613 the Provincial Francisco Pero, in a letter to Fr. General Aquaviva, speaks of the difficulties met with by the Fathers of his Mission and of his own troubles in governing it.

He was especially anxious as to the observance of the twelfth Canon of the fifth General Congregation, wherein the Fathers are cautioned not to interfere in political matters.

Since two years there was war between the Zamorin and the Raja of Cochin.

The Diocese had churches in both states, and so the Fathers were working in both. Many Portuguese favoured the Cochin potentate, who, being an old ally of Portugal, expected both the Bishop and the Fathers to side with him. On the other hand the Zamorin too had his own pretensions, which indeed were not wholly unfounded. Naturally the Fathers who were working in his territory, and who had received favours from him in the past, were unwilling to displease him. Archbishop Roz was endeavouring to steer his own course without foundering in the Portuguese eddies, or in the troubled waters of Cochin or of Calicut. The poor Provincial desired more expeditious methods and so he blurts out that "since the Bishop has been for so many years in Malabar he has taken up the ways and manners of the place; and in business he talks much but comes to no conclusion".

The Zamorin wished that Fr. Fenicio should take interest in his affairs; but the Raja of Cochin objected. Hence Fr. Fenicio's difficult position. In fact all the Fathers of Tanur, Calicut, Cochin, Cranganore and Vaipicota were more or less in the same boat. They endeavoured to be the friends of all, but satisfied no one. The Provincial recommended prudence; but complained that the Archbishop, though he was a Professed of the Society, and so whatever he did was attributed to the Society, was at times lacking in caution. For instance, he entrusted secrets to some people of the place, which afterwards were given out to everybody, thus causing trouble and discontent.

Was then Fr. Fenicio, on the occasion of the war, and on the strength of the twelfth Canon of the fifth Congregation removed from Calicut? Some have thought so; but though there may have been question of recalling him in 1613, he was not recalled. In fact in a letter written by Fr. Fenicio in February 1621, he says that he worked in Calicut for 18 years, that is to say from 1601 to 1619.

Some have described his Mission in Calicut as mainly political. (3) That it was not so we have had abundant proofs in the foregoing pages. The Zamorin, however, though genuinely attached to Fr. Fenicio, shaped his policy as circumstances

demanded, and allowed himself to be guided by one supreme motive: self-interest. Thus in 1615 he made a Treaty with Captain Keeling, where we read the following words:—

"As heretofore I have ever been an enemy to Portugal, so I propose to continue for ever." Evidently the Fathers' diplomatic Mission in Calicut had not had lasting effects. The Zamorin promises eternal friendship to the English, should they help him to reconquer Cranganore and Cochin. In Cranganore he wants to build a house "for some of his own people to the number of a hundred persons". Cochin is to belong entirely to the English.[2]

However, when the Zamorin saw .... that he could get no help from England he showed the English but scant courtesy.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

[1] A letter of Fr. Roz, S.J., from Kunhale's Camp.

"At your Reverence's request I remained in the camp with the Zamorin. Your Rev. wrote to me saying that the Fathers who had come from Goa were sufficient for the fleet and that I should neither be present at the assault nor entangle myself in the counsels of war. I have fully complied with your request. The assault was carried on in this manner: Louis Gama, the Admiral of the fleet, had disembarked his soldiers among whom were 1,500 Portuguese, in the territory of Ariorus beyond the river Kunhale. He then bound the ships together in the form of bridges. Having constructed the bridges, he told Louis de Silva, the brave commander of the army, to cross the river with a select band of 300 soldiers, and to begin the attack. In the meantime he would remain in the camp with the rest of the army, ready to help in case of need. Accordingly on Thursday, March 4th, before daybreak, they crossed the river and at the given signal rushed at the enemy now gathered on the bank. On the other side about 50,000 Nayars with 300 Portuguese were approaching the Fort.

The Zamorin, the little Prince and some petty kings and lords and I, watched the fight from an elevated and secure place.

The conflagration was terrible, and frequent flashes of booming cannons spread their light on all sides. At the sight of the signal for the first attack the Zamorin fell on his knees and with joined hands and eyes lifted up to heaven implored God's assistance. Our men through arrows and fire in that terrible rumble of cannon

[2] *Cf. Letters received by the East India Company*, Vol. IV, 1616. Edited by W. Foster, London, 1900, pp. 64–66.

and in that tempest of sparkling shots, made headway with incredible daring, and breaking the enemy's battle line were nearing the gates of the Fort. But a sad occurrence augured ill to our party.

At the commencement of the fight, the Portuguese General, Louis de Silva, was struck dead, being pierced by a dart besmeared with sulphur. His companions wrapped his body in a winding sheet and tried their best to conceal his death from others. Yet the battle with the Kunhale was carried on. On the opposite side Kurimussa fell. This man had infested the sea for many years and had rendered navigation most dangerous. Having captured several Portuguese vessels, he got a large booty from them. Before now he had evaded capture, though he had suffered some defeats. With him perished his father Cutiacemus and his cousin, two cousins of Kunhale, and also Cutamuemus, who but a few days before had taken one of our vessels. Many other generals and leading men, more dangerous than Kunhale, fell.

Kunhale himself narrowly escaped death, having received three wounds, two with the javelin and one with the sword. A shrine outside the fort was burnt, and with it many houses. In this fight three hundred Mahommedans and fifteen of our soldiers perished. Among the latter there was a Franciscan Friar. The Nayars, who were fighting on the Southern side, having burnt down some of the entanglements, killed several Mahommedans, but for want of battle axes they could not demolish the wall. A hundred Nayars and also four Portuguese died there. Ours, having finally got the upper hand, the death of the general was made known to all. Already ours were without powder, cannon balls and arrows. These aids had to be had from the General in Chief beyond the river; and so they were expected in vain. For the 31 boats, which, bound together, served as bridge, were abandoned by the rowers, and floating about in the water, were of no use to either party. So the servant of Anthony Leiva, the standard bearer of India, sounded the retreat. Anthony himself had already fallen, having fought bravely and caused great damage to the enemy. When our men saw themselves bereft of their General and standard bearer, deserting the battle lines in confusion they abandoned their arms and threw themselves into the river in hot haste. In consequence, about 260 Portuguese were found missing. Fr. Sebastian Gonsalves, and his companion, a lay-brother, succeeded in escaping death. But while the brother was trying to launch a boat with the help of some others, a shot struck his right arm and fractured it. With the help of a faithful neophyte, who lives with us incognito, we buried the corpses of seventy-six Portuguese, which were thrown on the bank. This disaster caused inexpressible grief to the Zamorin and the Nayars.

Both the Zamorin and other Princes had warned the Portuguese to act cautiously and especially to see to it that several boats were kept ready on the river to bring the soldiers, who wished to withdraw from the battle, conveniently to shore. They had also advised them not to attack alone but in company with many thousand Nayars. Had they followed this advice, they would certainly have inflicted heavier losses on the enemy. But, anxious to have the entire glory of the victory to themselves, they did not seek the aid of the Nayars. I myself heard some one lamenting that he could not see a single grey head in the whole army.

They did not wish to inform the Zamorin either of the day of the attack or on which side they would assault the fort. The King resented this very much and attributed the defeat to their misconduct in trying to deceive him, in spite of his faithfulness, and in taking every responsibility in their hands. This grief was augmented by the King of Cochin, for whom we had done so much, but who warned the Zamorin by letter not to place too much confidence in the Portuguese. Almighty God wished to forewarn us of the sad issue of this engagement. Three or four days before the fight they say that a thunder-bolt descended by night on the side of the Kunhale, and flashing over the whole fleet, vanished on the prætorian trireme. Also Fr. Theophilus who had come from Cochin, to stay at the Calicut residence, narrated to me on the following day an event, which, he said, occurred to him four days before the battle. He happened to see at night on the flagship a ghost passing quickly, who grasping his hand said "God's Punishment". By these words he seemed to express God's anger and revenge. This sad issue, so pernicious to our soldiers, also struck such terror into the hearts of the enemy that no one dared on that day to bury the dead. They feared lest our men, having formed again into battle array, should attack them anew. But when they saw our ships set sail, deserting the banks, their fear was changed into derision and rightly too. For had our soldiers only remained in the camp two days longer, I believe the enemy would have surrendered. So the Admiral was compelled to gather up the baggage immediately and to set sail. Now, that this letter may be not only a tale of woe, without a ray of comfort, I wish to add a consoling fact. The Queen, mother of the heir apparent, moved by the exhortation and conversation of Ours, has promised to receive Baptism. It is very important to remember that she is closely related to the neophyte whom I mentioned before. Also the Kings of Tanur and Challe desire to have our Fathers and Churches in their dominions. Your Rev. will see what is to be answered to them."

From Kunhale, March 9th, 1599.

Note.—To the Kunhale of which speaks Fr. Roz, there corresponds now:

Kottakkal: three miles south of Badagara on the south bank of the Kotta river; at one time the stronghold of the Kattakkal Kunhali Marakkars, famous pirates whose deeds are the theme

of many ballads. Traces of their fort, to which the river owes its name, are still visible. The family originally hailed from Pantalayini Kollam; but on its destruction by Henry Menezes in 1525, they moved first to Tikkodi and finally to Kottakkal. They obtained their name from the Zamorin; and, when the Portuguese first settled in Calicut, they surprised a Portuguese vessel, and slaughtered its crew on the rock which lies off Kottakkal about 8 miles to sea. This rock is called in the vernacular *Velliyan kallu* or the *White Rock*, but since this exploit of the pirates has gone by the name of *Sacrifice Rock*. Kottakkal was besieged and taken by the Portuguese with the aid of the Zamorin in 1600 and the most of the Kunhali Marakkars was then captured and executed at Goa. Subsequently the Marakkars seem to have transferred their allegiance to the Kaddattanad Raja, and when Hamilton visited Badagara, they seized every vessel which traded without his pass. As late as 1742 the Kottakkal pirates were very busy, and the "Tiger" Gallivat was especially to look after them. The Marakkars are now in distressed circumstances. The tombs of the founder and of several other members of the family are still pointed out in a Mausoleum attached to the Jamat Mosque. Kottakkal is now an important timber depot (From the *Madras District Gazetteers; Malabar and Anjengo*, by C. A. Innes, I.C.S., Madras Government Press, 1915, pp. 433–34).

DANVERS puts these events in 1598. They happened in March 1599.

2 *Tirunavayi.*—We take the following from *Innes's Malabar Gazetteer*, pp. 458–62. *Tirunavayi* between Kodakkal and Edakkulam celebrated for what is perhaps the most historic temple in all Malabar. It is a picturesque building in a clump of trees on the North bank of the Ponani river, but presents no striking architectural features. The *Shrikovil* dedicated to Vishnu has been lately roofed with copper by the Kizhakke Kovilagam, and the venerable wall that surrounds it rises at the two gateways into massive *gopurams* roughly handled by the Mysoreans and never since repaired. The river which washes the temple steps is holy, and into its sacred waters are cast the ashes of many a departed Hindu.

Of the origin of the temple nothing is known. Tirunavayi is frequently mentioned in the *Keralolpatti*, and is inseparably bound up with the traditionary history of Malabar. Keralan Perumal, by one account the eponymous hero of Kerala, was anointed in the royal hall at Vekkayur, after one of the Mahamakham festivals. It was one of the three holy places (Trikkariyur, Tirunavayi and Valarpattanam Fort) of the legendary Cheraman Perumal, and from its "sandy island" he set out on his pilgrimage to Mecca. The management of the temple and of the Mahamakham festival, described below, thereupon devolved upon the Vellatiri or Walavanad Raja, till the Zamorin with the aid of the Moors established

his supremacy in Malabar and usurped the privilege. The former Raja, however, had until quite lately a voice in the management of the temple, and was represented by one of the four Brahman Keralars but now all rights over the temple are vested in the Zamorin, whose palace, where the Brahmans are fed, is quite close to Tirunavayi.

Directly opposite the temple on the other side of the river are a temple dedicated to Brahma, who is rarely thus honoured in Malabar, and the Ottanmar *Madam*, a College for Nambudiri Brahman boys. There are only two other such colleges on the West Coast, one at Trichur in the Cochin State and one, of less note, at Paulay in Karumbranad Taluk. The *Madam* was founded and endowed by the Zamorin, and is supervised by his family Priest, the Tirunavayi Vadhyan Nambudiri. About one hundred Nambudiri youths from all parts of Malabar, as well as from Cochin and Travancore, are here taught to repeat, but not necessarily to understand, the *Vedas*. They come at the age of 12, and stay occasionally till they are 25 years old.

But Tirunavayi has another claim to fame. It is here that the Mahamakham festival, alleged to have been founded by Cheraman Perumal, and performed for the last time in 1743, was celebrated every twelfth year.

The *Rakshapurushan* or protector of the festival was the acknowledged suzerain of Malabar and till the dignity had been assumed, the throne, so to speak, was vacant. Two months before the festival began, the Zamorin summoned all the *Lokars* or chieftains to be present; and those who acknowledged his supremacy sent flags in token of fealty. But the Walavanad Raja, whose right to hold the festival had been usurped by the Zamorin, sent *chavers*—men who had elected to die in a desperate endeavour to cut their way to the Zamorin through his guards. The origin of the festival is obscure. The fact that it took place every twelfth year and that during its continuance, Malabar was, in theory, without a head, may connect it with the tradition that the early Perumals reigned only twelve years and then abdicated. Mr. Logan considered it the occasion of a *Kuttam* or general assembly of all MALABAR when the people assembled in conclave, readjusted their feudal ties. Hamilton describes the Mahamakham of 1695 and Mr. J. Duncan, some time Governor of Bombay, has left an account of it in the first volume of the *Transactions of the Bombay Literary Society*. But Mr. Logan's description of the festival of 1683, founded on records preserved in the Archives of the Zamorin's palace, cannot be improved upon.

"The western gateway (of the temple) faces a perfectly straight piece of road a little over half a mile in length stretching from the temple gateway westwards to the elevated ridge hemming in the paddy fields on the west. This road is but little raised above the level of the paddy flat. Directly facing this straight

piece of road as the elevated ridge is reached there are three or perhaps four terraces, the outlines of which may still be traced in the face of the precipitous bank. A little to one side of the upper terrace are the ruins of a strongly built powder magazine, and on the flat ground above and on both sides of the avenue shading the public road at this place, is ample space for the erection of temporary houses. In a neighbouring enclosure under cultivation is a disused well of fine proportions and of most solid construction. From the upper terrace alluded to, a commanding view is obtained facing eastward of the level rice plain at the foot, of the broad placid river on the right, backed by low hills, of higher flat topped laterite plateaus on the left, their lower slopes bosomed in trees, and, in the far distance, of the great chain of Western Ghats with the Nilgiris in the extreme left front hardly distinguishable in their proverbial colour from the sky above them. It was on the spot, on a smooth plateau of hard laterite rock, raised some thirty to forty feet above the plain, that the Zamorin used several times in the course of the festival to take his stand with the sword of Cheruman Perumal, the last emperor, in his hand.

"The sword is and has been for centuries, slowly rusting away in its scabbard, but it is not alone on it that the Zamorin depends for his safety, for the plain below him is covered with 30,000 Nayars of Ernad, 10,000 of Polanad and numberless petty dependent chieftains, each counting his fighting men by the hundred or the thousand or thousands. Away on the right across the river are camps of the second prince of the Zamorin's family and of the dependent, Punnattur Raja: the third, fourth, fifth and sixth princes' camps too are close at hand in the left front behind the temple, and behind the terrace itself is the Zamorin's camp.

"The whole scene is being made gay with flags as an elephant is being formally caparisoned with a chain of solid gold with 'one hundred and fourteen small links and one clasp, making in all one hundred and fifteen'—as the record specifically testified—and with golden bosses or other ornaments, too numerous to be detailed. But this part of the ceremonies is not to be permitted to pass unchallenged, for it signifies in a formal manner the Zamorin's intention to assume the rôle of *Rakshapurushan* or protector of the festivities and of the people there reassembled. On the instant, therefore, there is a stir among the crowd assembled near the western gate of the temple directly facing at half a mile distance the Zamorin's standing place on the upper terrace.

"From this spot, running due east in a perfectly straight line to the western gate of the temple, is the straight piece of road already described, but the road itself is clear and the armed crowd on the plain, it is seen, are hemmed in by barrel palisading running the full length of the road on both sides. Two spears-length apart the palisades are placed and the armed crowd on either hand, consisting on this occasion, of the 30,000 Ernad Nayars,

it is seen, are all carrying spears. The spearmen may not enter the narrow lane, and by the mere weight of their bodies present an impassable obstacle to the free passage of the foemen now bent on cutting down the Zamorin in his pride of place.

"Amid much din and firing of guns, the *Morituri*, the *Chaver* Nayars, the elect of the four Nayar Houses in Walavanad, step forth from the crowd and receive the last blessings and farewells of their friends and relatives. They have just partaken of the last meal they are to eat on earth at the house of the temple representative of their chieftain; they are decked with garlands and smeared with ashes. On this particular occasion it is one of the houses of Putumanna Panikkar who heads the fray. He is joined by seventeen of his friends—Nayar or Mapilla or other arms-bearing castemen—for all who wish may fall in with sword and target in support of the men who have elected to die.

"Armed with swords and targets alone they rush at the spearmen thronging the palisades; they wind and turn their bodies, as if they had no bones, casting them forward and backward, high and low, even to the astonishment of the beholders, as worthy Master Johnson describes them in a passage already quoted. But notwithstanding the suppleness of their limbs, notwithstanding their delight and skill and dexterity in weapons, the result is inevitable, and is prosaically recorded in the chronicle thus: 'The numbers of *Chavers* who came and died in the early morning the next day after the elephant began to be adorned with gold trappings—being Putumanna Kantur Menon and followers, was eighteen.'

"At various times during the last ten days of the festival the same thing is repeated. Whenever the Zamorin takes his stand on the terrace, assumes the sword and shakes it, men rush forth from the crowd on the west temple gate only to be impaled on the spears of the guardsmen who relieve each other from day to day.

"On the eleventh day, before the assembly broke up and after the final assault of the *Chavers* had been delivered, the *Ernad Elankur Nambiyatiti Tirumulpad* (the Zamorin next in succession) and the *Tiruman Isseri Numbudiri* were conveyed in palanquins to the eastern end of the narrow palisaded lane and thence they advanced on foot, prostrating themselves four times towards the Zamorin, once at the eastern end of the lane, twice in the middle, and once at the foot of the terraces. And after due permission was obtained they took their places on the Zamorin's right hand.

"After this, so the chronicle runs, it was the duty of the men who have formed the body-guard to march up with music and pomp to make obeisance. On this occasion, however, a large portion of the body-guard seems to have been displeased, for they dispersed without fulfilling this duty and this story corroborates

in a marked way the facts already set forth regarding the independence and important political influence possessed by the Nayars as a body.

"The Ernad Menon and the Calicut Talachanna Nayar with their followers were the only chiefs who made obeisance in due form to the Zamorin on this occasion, and possibly by the time of the next festival (1695) of which Hamilton wrote, the dissatisfaction might have increased among his followers and the Zamorin's life even may have been endangered, as Hamilton alleges, probably through lack of men to guard him. Tradition asserts that the CHAVERS who managed on one occasion to get through the guards and up to the Zamorin's seat belonged to the family of the CHANDRATHIL PANIKKAR.

"The chronicle does not mention the fact, but a current tradition states that the corpses of the slain were customarily kicked by elephants as far as the brink of the fine well, of which mention has been made, and into which they were tumbled promiscuously. The well itself is nearly filled up with debris of sorts, and a search made at the spot would probably elicit conclusive evidence of the truth of this tradition."

[3] MAXIMILIAN MULLBAUER, Priest of the Diocese of Munchen, Freysing, wrote the *History of the Catholic Missions in the East Indies.* The book, which was published at Munich in 1851 was the prize essay approved by the Theological Faculty of the Ludwig-Maximilian University of Munich. Speaking of the Jesuit Mission of Calicut, the Author remarks that there were no conversions. "The Mission was in this respect a failure but it was of great gain to the Portuguese from a political point of view. The Jesuits were so to say the *Chargés d'Affaires* at the court". Here it is well to point out that politics has never been the chief aim of Jesuit enterprise. Their main work is the spreading of the Kingdom of God. To attain it, they make use of spiritual means, such as preaching, teaching, the administration of the Sacraments, etc. Other means, that are not evil in themselves, and not positively excluded by their Institute, are made use of according to circumstances and the direction of Superiors. They thought—and quite rightly—that to bring about and maintain peace between the Zamorin and the Portuguese was not only good for Portugal, but extremely good for the Missions. Even while dealing with Princes, the Fathers—and especially Fr. Fenicio—never lost sight of their spiritual character and spiritual obligations. This episode in the History of the Society redounds to her glory, and needs no apology.

CHAPTER VIII

FATHER J. FENICIO'S DISPUTATIONS IN CALICUT

THE JESUITS IN TANUR

(1601–1642)

HAVING spoken in the preceding chapter of the coming of the Jesuits to Calicut, of their work of pacification there, of the protection which the Zamorin accorded them, let us now describe the policy which Fr. Fenicio—the Apostle of Calicut—adopted towards the Hindus and the Muslims.

While the method pursued by Joao de Cruz with the Paravars may be called *frankly utilitarian*, Fr. Fenicio's method may be characterized as *aggressive.* The first succeeded, the second failed. Must it be condemned? Before pronouncing judgment upon it, let us examine it.

1. DIFFICULTY OF CONVERSION WORK IN CALICUT

Padre Teofilo Massi.—In the Annual Letter dated 20th December 1600 we find that there was only one Father in Calicut. His work was not easy and he had no conversions, owing, as the Letter remarks, "to the obstinacy of the Nayars, who, of all the peoples of the East are most difficult to be brought to Christianity." The reason for this obstinacy consists mainly in their marriage customs which the letter declares "similar in all to the infamous Republic of Plato". To understand this criptic expression the reader is referred to the passage from Duarte Barbosa, which we have quoted in the Introductory Chapter.

In the same Annual Letter we read, however, of the Calicut people who sought the help of Christians, or of the Father, in their troubles. The Father insisted that they should get rid of idols, and gave them the "Our Father" written out on paper or leaves, and a little holy water. The Missionary was the Italian Teofilo Massi; but, on account of the constant suspicions between the Zamorin and the Portuguese, he found himself far from secure in Calicut, and was advised to

withdraw to Tanur, where the Raja was more friendly. Meanwhile, Fr. Roz came from Goa. He landed at Tanur, and from there, together with the Raja, proceeded to visit the Zamorin, whom he convinced of the loyalty of the Portuguese. Fr. Theophilo returned to Calicut, where he was soon joined by Fr. Fenicio.

2. Padre Giacomo Fenicio

In Father Nicholas Pimenta's letter to Fr. General Aquaviva, dated from Margao, December 1st, 1601, we read: "Turning to the South, the first house which presents itself to us is the residence of Calicut, which is subject to the College of Cochin. In this residence there are two Fathers. Here matters are being put in order, to become permanent with the fruit which is expected." The new Father also was an Italian, born at Capua about 1558. He had entered the Society in 1580; had come out to India in 1583. His name was Giacomo Fenicio. He was stationed as Missionary in Cochin in 1584, and was made Vicar of St. Andrew in Porca (belonging to Cochin) in 1587. He still kept that position in 1594–1604 and 1619. He probably died there in 1632.

Matters in Calicut were not easy. The Annual Letter of 1602 says: "Though at present there have been few conversions, yet there is hope of much, if things are well managed." The Fathers were, as usual, endeavouring to maintain the peace between the Portuguese and the Zamorin. The Letter continues: "If Ours had not been in Calicut, it is very probable that war would have been started again, on account of the continual distrust that the King has of the Portuguese, aroused and caused by the Moors, and which Ours endeavour to remove from him. However, things are in a favourable condition at present and the stone Church is being constructed. When that will be built many will be converted, for they will understand that we are there secure and firm. The Prince of Tanur is instantly asking for a Church and says that even if we break with the Zamorin, we shall be safe in his territories. The King of Challe, where in times past we had a fortress, likewise has asked for one, and though we wish to build these Churches on account of the fruit that is expected, yet it is necessary that that of Calicut should first be

completed, for otherwise the Zamorin will take it very ill and will begin to look upon us with mistrust."

3. Padre Fenicio's Public Disputations

(*a*) *Positive and Negative Methods.*—We continue translating from the same letter. As will appear from it, Padre Fenicio endeavoured to explain the positive doctrines taught by Catholic Philosophy, on God's nature and on the Creation of the world, as they are manifest from natural reason. Hence he deduced the falsehood of the Brahmins' tenets, and the absurdities of their Cosmogony.

"Very often the Father went to the public square, where many pagans assembled together, who surrounded him with curiosity; the Father introducing topics on faith, refuted their tenets, proving to them the unity of God and the truth of the evangelical law, to which all were bound. They answered against the arguments of the Father what they knew, but, after some time, the latter convinced them in such a way that they confessed that to be the truth, and that they would take that law, if they did not fear that the King might break away from the Portuguese and then, with the withdrawal of the Fathers, they would be forsaken. There was one, however, who presumed to know, and maintained that his law was good, and that he had read the Hindu books on the creation of the world. The Father made him bring the books and said that by discussion and reason, they would verify the truth. The wisacre brought the books and began to read, singing (according to their custom) from the book treating of the beginning of the world: at first, there being nothing, God had made an egg, which opening out, its lower half was transformed into land and sea with rivers, hills and animals, and its upper half gave origin to the heavens. God placed this world on the horn of an ox and because the ox shook and the world was overturned, to prevent the fall God put underneath a great rock. The Father refuted these absurdities with facility, asking him from where God had taken the rock with which he came to the aid of the world, and, on what both the ox and the rock were resting. Those who were prudent, and that very man who was arguing, understood the falsehood of their tenets, having no answer against so evident an argument."

"By these discussions (the Letter continues) the Brahmins come to lose much of the esteem they have of their pagodas. Thus a nephew of a learned Brahmin became so bold as to sneer at the pagodas, and, one day, as some Brahmins were passing by, with some offerings, he said to them: "Why do you take this to the pagodas? The best thing you could do with it is to give it to someone who might eat it." This young man is studying together with the princes. One day, full of joy, he told me 'Father I have learned to-day in my lessons what you had told us—that there is no pagoda, but one God alone'. Our Erari[1] told us also that the Queen and one of her sons, twelve years of age, have advanced so far in the understanding of the things of our holy Faith that they manifest a desire of becoming Christians, but as this is an affair of great moment and risk, and is not possible to speak to the Queen but in the presence of the Brahmins, it cannot be settled easily; but the same Lord Who gave them this desire will also provide the means."

(b) *Use of Hindu Literature.*—Writes Fr. Du Jarric: "The Divine Goodness has not left those peoples in entire ignorance of the truths of our holy Faith, that they may have no excuse on the day of judgment. For in times past there was a great poet in Malabar, who, though not a Christian, as far as we know, yet left some written books, showing therein the great knowledge he had of things divine. In fact he composed some 800 octaves against the idols and false gods of those lands, where he pleasantly laughs at their fables, and in the same manner he treats of Divine Providence, Heaven, Hell and other matters of our Faith, according to what we believe, at least in many points. He says of the Providence of God that he gives to each one what is necessary according to his quality and that he assists us always with his presence and protection, in the same manner as he does who holds the rope for those who are fishing pearls. Of Heaven he says that it consists in the vision of God; of Hell, that the damned will remain there 400 million years, plunged in fire, and yet always alive. As to the idols, he constantly sneers at them, and calls the

[1] The Erari was a nephew of the Zamorin who had already been received into the Church.

Brahmins fools. The Father (Fenicio), having come across this book, copied more than 300 octaves, though many more are lost; and cleverly used them and read them in the presence of the Gentiles, both privately and publicly, so that they were confused and did not know what to answer."[2]

(c) *Wonderful Cures.*—Fr. Fenicio's Letter continues: "A pagan official was possessed by the devil, who with a furious impetus, made him dance in water and fire, with danger to his life. One day he came to our house to work. The devil entered him: he fell immediately to the ground all in convulsions. The Father made the sign of the Cross on the forehead, and read the Gospel, and the devil left him; but as the poor man had swooned away the Father gave him holy water to drink, with which he completely recovered the use of his senses and began to work as before. Our Erari and a nephew of the Brahmin Lagna who were then present there related the fact to the Queen and the princes, who, astonished at it, asked how it was that the Father had cast the devil out of the body of that man. The Erari answered that he had done so by making the sign of the Cross on the forehead of the possessed. Thereupon the princes began to make the sign of the Cross themselves. By means of the same Cross many miracles are wrought and many pagans give alms for oil, and have lamps burning before the Cross.

A certain woman was sick and could not get sleep for many days. Her mother, on the advice of a Christian, offered oil to the Cross, and taking a little of that which was already being used, applied it to that part where the sick woman felt the pain, and immediately the pain disappeared, she could get good sleep and was healed. Others too there are who have been cured in the same way. Another woman had lost her golden ear-rings and she searched for them in vain throughout the house for many days. Then, she went to the Cross and cried aloud: "Holy Cross, give me the ear-rings that I have

[2] The poet mentioned here was probably Pakkanar, who, according to Thurston (*Castes*, VI, p. 121 sq.) was the son of Varuci and a Parayan girl; he lived by the sale of wicked-work (a low caste profession) scoffed at the Brahmins going on pilgrimage to Benares, dined freely with members of all castes. *Cf.* Charpentier, *The Livro de Seita*, p. 185, note 8.

lost", promising oil. On returning home, she found them. A Mohamedan had his boat in great danger of being sunk on account of the weather and the tempest. He made a vow to the Cross and his boat escaped from the danger, and he offered what he had promised. With these and other wonders this people have gained so much devotion and respect to the Cross that some take away the dust from the stones at the foot of the Cross and carry it in reliquaries round their neck".

Of 1604 there is a Latin translation of two letters of Fr. Fenicio to Fr. Laerzio, his Provincial. In the first he deals again with his public disputations; in the second, he describes his expedition to the Todas. Fr. Provincial writes:—"Things in Calicut are at a standstill. The building of the Church, however, is going on, and they have reached the roof. The King has promised that he will allow two other Churches to be built in his dominions. The constancy of a certain boy is worthy of admiration. He, without his mother's knowledge, had approached the Father, asking to be received into the Church. The mother came to know of it, and with more than fifty people came to the Father complaining, crying, filling everything with her lamentations. But the boy remains unmoved like a stone. He is brought before a tribunal, the toparca (?) being present; but, refusing to follow his own mother, he insists that he wishes to be a Christian. His relations, having nearly lost all hope, go home. Yet they try to shake his constancy in other ways; but he is very steady, and so he is being instructed in the Christian religion."

(*d*) *Christ and Krishna.*—Continues Fr. Fenicio: "During my free time I had gathered from Malabarian books (for they also have a kind of Ovidian Metamorphoses) some notes on the falsehood of their gods. I brought them out. The King, guessing what I was driving at, said smiling, "the Father wishes now to attack the gods". Then turning to me he said: "But don't you say that the Word of God died crucified?" And I: "True, Sire, Our Lord Jesus Christ was God and Man. As Man he was born, suffered and died, not as God. For we being unable to atone to God for our sins, God Himself became Man, to suffer in our nature. Even among you, when someone is incapable of paying the King, does not the King pay for him? Do not then object to the immense charity of Christ. Rather you should feel ashamed of the horrible crimes of your gods, whose misdeeds, lies, thefts and adulteries you imitate. And that you should know that I am not unacquainted with their wickedness, what of your Cannen, who later on was called Christen (?) for his blackness? What stories are not related in your books about him? This dandy, having entered the houses of women, ate and drank whatever he found, and threw into the well the vessels of his brother, nor did he respect the modesty of girls. Another time, while this Christen of yours was guarding the cows—an occupation worthy of such a God—and sitting on a tree was playing the flute, did he not steel the clothes of three hundred women who were bathing in a lake, because they had complained to his mother, who had given him a sound beating? I leave out what happened afterwards, for it would be unbearable to chaste ears." The King was smiling discreetly. One of the Brahmins began to murmur as if he wished to give an answer. "Speak", said the King. And he: "Everyone goes his own way." "True," answered I, "but one way leads to pleasant gardens, another to hard stones. Which one will you take?" He repeated his thought over and over again till we left.

(*e*) *He Preached to Deaf Hearers.*—"The Zamorin feeds one hundred Brahmins, the most learned. One day I gathered them all to show them the celestial sphere. They came and listened full of wonder; they did not contradict. One of them, a stranger from Cochin, said that the things I had said were quite true, for, he argued, the Portuguese having come from another hemisphere, having crossed so many seas, and having seen with their own eyes so many things, were worthy of belief. Having done with the sphere I took up a poem against their gods; but one after the other they went away, leaving me almost alone. The Brahmins do not improve at all from these disputations. The others begin to doubt of their own, and to be well affected towards our religion; in fact, they do not cease to praise it to the sky. At times I went out into the Calicut streets, and I was immediately surrounded by many people, who were putting questions, and were satisfied with my answers.

Some were saying that they could have listened to me for days and years, and could not get away from me. Nor

was Mohamedanism left untouched. We discussed about it and showed its emptiness and wickedness. But all in vain. Finally a Mohamedan old man, quite shrewd and cunning: "Why, Father," he said, "do you tire yourself? It is already six months that you are turning the same stone; and to what purpose?" And I: "It is not for nothing, old man. I work for Christ, Who, when, at the end of the world, will come to judge us, will say to those who will bring forth their ignorance as an excuse: 'Did I not send you the Fathers from another world, to explain to you these and other things? Why did you not listen to them? Why did you not do what I commanded? Go then to your punishment.'" Another remarked: "Why then did you not come during the war?" "We did come", I replied, "at such and such a time; but we preached to deaf hearers." So far the first letter written to me (Fr. Laerzio) by Fr. Fenicio.

(*f*) *Remarks on Fr. Fenicio's Method.*—Fr. Castets, S.J., comments thus on the public disputations of Fr. Fenicio:—

"As Fr. Fenicio spoke Malayalam with great ease and quite correctly, he was not afraid to provoke the Brahmins themselves to public disputations on the falsehood of the pagan religion. It was a useless labour, as Fr. De Nobili would have remarked, to whom experience had amply demonstrated that nothing is easier than to triumph over, and stop these objectors, but nothing is more futile as well, or even dangerous, in order to bring about their conversion.[3] Fr. Fenicio did not find the work useless, for even in Calicut he obtained some conversions. Elsewhere he was more successful. In fact, Maracci[4] tells us that in the Kingdom of Muterte there were five Churches with two Jesuits who provided for some two or three thousand Christians, most of whom had been converted by Fr. Fenicio.[5] The work would have been useless or even dangerous, had the Father been content with merely destroying without endeavouring to build up. But such was not the case, for we read in Du Jarric's *Troisième Partie, etc.*, p. 534:—"In this manner by showing on one hand their ignorance and the little probability that there is in the sects

[3] *Cf. Revue d'Histoire des Missions*, Paris, 1934, p. 136.
[4] *Relation de ce qui s'est passé aux Indes* (Paris, 1651), p. 54.
[5] *Cf.* Charpentier, *op. cit.*, Introd., p. LXXVII.

which they follow, together with the life and the detestable vices of the gods whom they adore; and on the other, by making them see the beauty and splendour of the Christian Religion, with the sanctity of its commandments, and the mysteries of our faith, they were all wondering and they confessed quite openly that what they were taught about the divine law was most holy and altogether according to reason." Besides, though experience may have taught Fr. De Nobili that there were better methods than mere criticism of paganism, yet he never gave it up altogether, nor could he, as his works amply testify.

4. The Jesuits in Tanur (1606)

Let us now pass on to Tanur, which is not far from Calicut, and where the Jesuits took advantage of the favour which the Rajahs showed to them, in order to spread the Kingdom of Christ. In fact, though the conversion of the Rajah of Tanur at the time of St. Francis Xavier cannot be reckoned as a great triumph, yet his successors were always favourable to Christianity, and more or less faithful allies of Portugal. This, in spite of their proximity to Calicut, and of the shifty policy of the Zamorin. When Fr. Fenicio went to Calicut, he gained a very great ascendency over the Zamorin. The Rajah of Tanur could then show his sympathies more openly. In fact, he often promised the Father his help towards the building of a church in Tanur; and the church was eventually built.

We shall take a more detailed account of this foundation from Guerreiro.[6]

The Prince, says this author, kept his promise, which he had made by word of mouth. A Father was sent from Cochin to start the building of the Church with Fr. Jacome Fenicio. The Father's name was Francis Oliverius. He left Cochin, on a ship bound for Goa. But, somehow, the Captain left him alone on the shore not far from Tanur. He was helpless, did not understand a word of Malayalam, did not know anybody. But he was of the same fraternity as Fr. Fenicio. And so, a good

[6] *Relasam annual das cousas que fezeram os padres da companhia na .... India Oriental .... No anno de 606 e 607 tirada das cartas dos mesmos Padres que de la vierrao Pelo Padre Fernao Guerreiro—em Lisboa*—Crasbeeck, 1609.

man—who had some authority in the place—took pity on him, brought him to a house, prepared food for him, warmed some water for his foot-bath; carpets were spread on the floor, a blanket was brought for his bed, the lamp was lit, a boy was ordered to attend to the Father's needs; so that Fr. Oliverius was surprised at the kindness and hospitality of these people.

Now the Tanurians, having found out that the Father had come from Cochin, nearly all, men, women and children, though they were Gentiles, thanked God for having granted them to see the Father, and said to him that they were ready to become Christians as soon as the Church would be finished.

The Prince of Tanur, who governs the Kingdom, for the Rajah himself is very old, feasted the coming of the Fathers, and gave them faculty to choose the ground for the Church, and ordered his chief Minister to carry on the work at his own expense, to make it according to the plans and measurements given to him by the Fathers. The Minister did so; he brought elephants, overseers and numerous workmen, so that the Church was finished soon and so was the residence of the Fathers. On the day of the Nativity of Our Lady a fine picture representing that which was painted by St. Luke—was placed in the Church. On the fourteenth day of September a fine Cross was erected. The King wanted to be present at this ceremony, ordering that some pieces of artillery should be brought there, in token of festivity and joy. The Church was adorned as well as possible, and there was great concourse of people. After the Cross was set up the King made a speech, telling his subjects that all were free to embrace Christianity, that they would not lose his favour on that account, nor would they suffer any loss. Rather he would do many favours to the converts and he would give them privileges. He added that the prospective converts would be able to rely on two pillars: one of which was himself, who was their king and protector, and the other were the Fathers who would diligently procure their spiritual and material good. He then confirmed with facts what he had promised in words, for in many circumstances did he favour the Christians; so that, if the progress will correspond to the beginnings, we hope for much fruit in Tanur.[7]

[7] *Cf.* also *Du Jarric*, Vol. III, pp. 544-45.

5. Special Graces

The Rajah, however, was very old. Before dying, with grave words, did he recommend to his heir to endeavour to keep the Fathers whom he had brought to Tanur and to protect them as a most precious treasure. At that time he did not yet know their worth; but it would be apparent in time of adversity.

In the following year there was a severe pestilence, which carried away many, especially among the fishermen. The poor wretches were seized by a cruel fever, which brought them to death's door within three or four hours. Few lasted one day; very rarely did they reach two days. People were saying that this sickness was a punishment for not having fulfilled a vow they had made to their pagoda. The poor folk did what they could to placate the devil; not only did they offer him what they had promised, but many sacrifices besides; but the sickness did not abate. Finally, compelled by necessity, they came to the Holy Cross as to a place of refuge, bringing oil to burn before it. Earnestly they asked the Father to give them some remedy against the fell disease. The Father did not lose the opportunity to impress upon them the vanity of the idols; nor did he labour in vain, for he fished many fishermen's souls, which being reborn in holy Baptism, winged their flight to heaven.

He went himself or sent the children to say the prayers of the catechism, and blessed the water to give to drink to the sick; nor was God wanting in His mercy for, of all those who drank the holy water only one died, and many were snatched from the jaws of death. It is said that several were cured while the prayers were recited, while at the same time, some of the neighbours caught the disease, from which it is seen that the author of the pestilence was the devil himself, who, leaving one place, entered into another. A little child that was the joy of his father fell sick, and he was dying and there was no hope, when the father, beside himself, ran to the Church. The Father went with him, made the sign of the Cross on the head of the dying child, read the Gospel and gave him a little holy water to drink. Marvellous thing! the child recovers his senses, he speaks, he says that he is well; and that when the Father entered the hut he felt as if a great

weight was removed which was crushing him. The following night, the devil wishing to revenge himself of the child's father, told him that he would have to pay for his boldness in calling the Father. He seized him by the throat, and the poor fellow could not breathe, but by making the sign of the Cross, and invoking the Holy Name of Jesus, the devil fled and the man was free. A pagan woman, sick with the same disease, called the Father and told him that she would become a Christian if she were cured. The Father told her to seek rather the life of the soul than the health of the body, and that God could give her both; but that the chief remedy was Baptism. The woman consented. As far as the sickness allowed, the Father instructed her, and with the salvation of the soul she received that of the body as well. This was an occasion for many to become Christians. Another woman and her daughter were baptized; a second daughter with a grand-child would be baptized later, when they knew the catechism better. Being all in the house, saying their prayers, the devil was howling outside, knocking at the door, calling them by their names, threatening them because they were throwing him out of the house where he had dwelt so long. They, as the Father had taught them, were praying more fervently and singing the catechism, so that the devil ran away shouting and crying like one who is biting his fingers. Many wonders, surely above the forces of nature were wrought in virtue of the Holy Cross and by intercession of Our Lady. Some were cured of dangerous diseases, others of incurable sores, some were freed from danger, some, upon invoking the Holy Cross when throwing the nets, gathered them in full of fish, while others, fishing near by caught nothing. Favours are bestowed on the pagans also, who are not ungrateful, but, like the Christians, bring their offerings, chiefly of oil, of a Saturday, for the lamps which are burning before the Holy Cross and the Blessed Virgin. Those who were baptized were fifty (in the year 1608).

6. Troubles in Tanur

The Annual Letter of 1611 informs us that "there was war between Calicut and Tanur, from which the Church of Tanur had to suffer more than that of Calicut. The Raja of

Tanur is not as powerful as the Zamorin; when, therefore, he saw himself threatened he thought he could get help from the Portuguese through the Father. But this answered that he could do nothing for there was peace between Portugal and Calicut. Yet he would endeavour to get the Portuguese to warrant that peace which he so desired. The answer did not displease the Raja, and so the Father left for Cochin, where he spoke with the Governor, insisting much on the merits of the Raja towards the Portuguese." An embassy was prepared for the Zamorin, which, however, took longer than Tanur could afford, for he had already been made to suffer by Calicut. Moreover, the Father had been for some time in Calicut, and so Tanur, or rather his counsellors, began to suspect foul play. Hence, why should the Fathers stay in Tanur when they did nothing for the Raja? And why should not the Christians be made to suffer? And so fines were imposed on them, their boats were taken away, they were tempted and even urged to apostatize. A rascal, bolder than the rest, hit the Cross with the scimitar, which the Christians hold in great veneration. Meanwhile, the embassy from Cochin reached Calicut, but, upon learning what had been done in Tanur, they left without concluding anything. Then at Tanur they began to understand their foolishness, and temerity, and to fear the Portuguese, and to realise that they were now in a worse plight than before. The King then wrote to the Fathers to come back, that he would amply compensate them for whatever losses they had sustained, that what had happened had happened entirely without his knowledge, that hot blooded youth should be pardoned, that his own merits towards the Portuguese and his benevolence to the Fathers really deserved a favourable answer. Thus passed two or three months; till finally it seemed prudent to restore friendship to the Raja. Two Fathers went to Tanur and were received very cordially by the King. "On a fixed day the Church was adorned with palm branches, and the Raja with the second in command came there, where they were received with music and firing of mortars. They granted several privileges to those who would become Christians, they returned the money which had been taken away, they either returned the boats to their owners or paid for those that had been destroyed. Then one of the Fathers

remaining in the Church with the Raja, the other, together with the Prince went to the place of the Cross. Here the chief men in the Kingdom covered the Cross with a silk cloth, which among these peoples, is supposed to be very honourable. This was followed by music and firing of bombards. There were present many officials, Nayars, and even Moors. The Prince told them all to respect the Cross, the Church, the Fathers; not to trouble the Christians, otherwise they would be punished. This reconciliation took place between Ours and the people of Tanur; nor did the circumstances allow us to be more exacting. Some Catechumens, who had been frightened away, came back. Fifteen were baptized and fifteen more are getting ready for Baptism." The reconciliation, however, was short-lived, as we shall see in the next pages.

7. Small Consolations and Serious Troubles

The Annual Letter of 1612 speaks of three Fathers working in the three Residences of Calicut, Tanur and Ponani. Their Superior, however—presumably Fr. Fenicio—is always with the Zamorin, endeavouring to promote the cause of Religion and to maintain peace with Portugal. During Lent he worked as usual in the Northern Parishes of the Thomas Christians.

The Residence of Tanur had been enlarged, and there had been 39 conversions. Notable that of a woman who had resisted the invitations of her own people for a long time. Being in difficult labour, the Father was called, who gave her a little Holy Water to drink. Immediately she was delivered of a sturdy child, who was baptized. But she forgot the promises she had made when in pain, and again refused Baptism; yet Divine Mercy did not desert her, and all of a sudden her mind was changed and she asked Baptism of her own accord. Another, who had recently been baptized, was seriously tempted to give up the faith by the Raja. The Father had gone to Cochin on business; and the Raja called the Christian and threatened him, and coaxed him, and deprived him of his possessions; but all in vain. Not even the fear of death could shake his constancy in the faith. Another, still a catechumen, overcame the chief minister of the kingdom, who, moved by the catechumen's relatives, tried all possible means to shake his constancy.

"In Tanur the Moors' quarters are not far from the Church. It happened that the devils began to trouble the Moors with a very serious disease. To get rid of it they organised a procession in grand style, but in their excitement they came out of their quarters and entered Ours. The Christians got excited too, and the Father, to forestall trouble, sent a man to plead with the Moors. They treated him with scant courtesy; and so the Christians set on them with great fury. Many were wounded in the fray, but none was killed. Next day the Moors came on in larger numbers. But the Father, suspecting the hidden hand of the Raja, decided to leave Tanur with his little flock and take shelter in Calicut. God avenged the innocent, for the plague, instead of diminishing, increased, till the Moors themselves saw in it the punishment of God. In one month and a half, more than two hundred died; nay more, one day, being in their Mosque, they came to blows among themselves, till they finally perceiving how unruly they were, the Raja repented of his unfairness towards us and sent letters to Rev. Fr. Provincial, begging of him to arrange for the return of the Father and of the Christians, who would in future be better protected."

In 1613 only two Fathers work in the three residences above mentioned, one of whom, as usual is with the Zamorin, or gives missions to the Thomas Christians. The description we find in the letter of these poor people is not flattering. Being ignorant of the truths of our faith, and living like pagans, they were Christians only in name, but, when the mission was over, and they had been brought back to the grace of God, it is moving to read of their gratitude, and how attached they were to the Father, and how they would not allow him to depart. He succeeded also to heal a schism, which had broken out among them, and to reconcile with the Bishop some that had been excommunicated.

The Father, who had left Tanur the previous year, returned to his post. The Raja, having begged for his return, offered stones and timber for the Church, and built at his own expense a fine pedestal for the Cross. There were special graces granted to the people of Tanur by the invocation of the Cross. A fisherman's boat is saved in a great storm, while all the others perish. A pagan woman makes a vow, and is

cured; she forgets to fulfil it, and falls sick again, to be again cured upon fulfilling her promise. The pagans show great respect to our Church, and now that the Fathers have a fixed residence in Tanur the hopes of more numerous conversions revive.

8. SOME MATTERS OF INTEREST WITH REGARD TO CALICUT AND TANUR

Since Calicut is the centre of our present Mission in India, and Tanur is very near to Calicut, we may be pardoned if we devote more space to them than to other, more important parts of Malabar. The question may be asked: *To what Diocese did Calicut and Tanur belong?* Till 1557 they belonged to Goa. When Cochin was made a Diocese, they came under the jurisdiction of Cochin. In 1610 they were transferred from Cochin to Cranganore. The latter Archdiocese began at Dharmapatam, and reached down to Vaipim. But while Cochin's jurisdiction extended only along the Coast, Cranganore ruled inland.[8] Madura and the Nilgiris came under it. Calicut and Tanur are expressely mentioned in the Pope's Bull, as belonging to Cranganore.[9] Later on, however, the Jesuits will claim house and church as belonging to them.

How many Fathers did usually work in Calicut and Tanur?

In the Catalogues published by the late Fr. L. Besse, S.J., in 1909,[10] we find that in 1611 and 1612 there were four Fathers in Calicut, Tanur and Ponani. No one is mentioned for the years 1615–17, but we have reason to believe that, in spite of the war raging between the Zamorin and the Rajah of Cochin, Fr. Fenicio, S.J., still remained in Calicut. In 1618, two Fathers. No one is mentioned in 1620–23, and in fact, Della Valle, who visited Calicut in 1623 does not speak either of the Church or of the Jesuits.

In 1626, 1628 there was one Father; three in 1630. The Catalogues then are silent. But we read in the Annual Letters that in 1648 there were 28 Baptisms of adults in Calicut. The

[8] *Cf. Bullarium Patr. Port.*, Vol. II, p. 8: "*non littora* tantum, sed Mediterranea etiam".

[9] "Calecutana et Tanorensis paroeciae numerantur."

[10] Trichinopoly, St. Joseph's Press.

Zamorin was very favourable to the Fathers, and had great confidence in them in all the affairs which he had to treat with the Viceroy.

During the feast of the *Mahamanjam* which is celebrated every 12 years—he insisted that the Father and the Viceroy's Agent should sit one at his right and the other at his left hand, against the pretensions of a Moor. He even asked the Father to lend him his hat and made him mount an elephant, on which the Father returned home.

In Tanur some miracles are reported wrought by means of holy water.

In 1657–58 Fr. Vincenzo, C.D., visited the church of Calicut, was received well by the Father, and mentions that there were some 300 Christians in Tanur.

Was the Calicut Church destroyed in 1620, or thereabout? The answer is in the affirmative.

The old Zamorin, during whose reign the Fathers had gone to Calicut, was dead. The new ruler still continued his friendship towards the Fathers, but had sworn vengeance against the Rajah of Cochin, who had terminated his allegiance to Calicut, and was a faithful ally of Portugal. In 1611 war broke out between the two Rajahs. Upper Cranganore was taken, and the Fortress of Cranganore threatened. But in 1616 Dom Bernardo de Noronha came to the rescue. The Zamorin's Nayars were forced to retire, and the pressure on Cranganore was relieved.

It was at this juncture that Fr. Fenicio intervened. From Calicut he went to Cranganore; pleaded for peace, and obtained a truce, at least for some time.

But in 1619 Fr. Fenicio was removed from Calicut, and none was sent there to replace him. Fr. Barretto in his *Relatione* on the Malabar Missions[11] writes: "while the Fathers in Calicut were about to gather the fruit of their labours, the gates of wrath were thrown open, war broke out again against the Portuguese, the Fathers were compelled to leave Calicut, and the small vineyard was left, not only uncultivated and overrun by the brambles and the snakes of so many superstitions, but nearly suffocated and killed by them".

[11] *Rome*, 1645, p. 43.

In the Annual Letter of 1627 we read that "a heathen prince treacherously introduced the Zamorin into the Church of Angamale, while he was at war with the Rajah of Cochin. By the help of a Cattanar the King pillaged the Church. As to the Christians, whom the tyrant had subjected by force of arms, they emigrated elsewhere.

In a few days the Cattanar received the punishment of his folly, for he died miserably, bitten by a jackal.

The Kinglet (of Angamale) paid dearly for his victory, for, being attacked by a violent fever, and suffering intensely from colics, after having tried all remedies, he had recourse to the devil. But, being repulsed on all sides, he saw St. Thomas in a dream, who commanded him to restitute to the two Jesuits who accompanied him, his church.

The effect proved the reality of the vision.

In fact, he who had delivered to the depredations of a foreign Rajah the Church of God, now gives liberally of his money in order that the old churches be repaired and that new ones be built."

From 1627 to 1642 we have no news of the Calicut Mission. Peace however was re-established. But the letter notices that the position of the Christians was very precarious. The Zamorin seemed favourable, and he gave the timber for the erection of a monumental cross. He also gave to the Fathers the stones of a pagoda, which had been destroyed, so that they could build for themselves a church and a house. The church then was surely destroyed, but rebuilt, probably after the peace of 1635.

The writer of the letter remarks that in two years there had been only 20 Baptisms of adults; and he says that he has no news from Tanur, "not," he adds, "because news are wanting but because the Fathers have not written for lack of paper".

CHAPTER IX

THE JESUITS AT HOME

FOUNDATION AND FIRST YEARS OF THE MALABAR PROVINCE OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS

(1601–1611)

In the present chapter we shall speak of the foundation of the Malabar Province of the Society of Jesus, of its extent, its work, its difficulties. "The Jesuits at Home" is the title of the chapter, for in it we shall dwell in a special manner on the intimate life of the Jesuits in their new Province. Our sources of information for the home life of the Jesuits in Malabar are of two kinds. The official reports of Superiors, the *Litterae Annuae*, which were compiled under their direct supervision, and the unofficial letters of individual Fathers to Fr. General. For in the Society it is open to everybody, from the Provincial to the last Lay-Brother, to write to the higher Superiors, and his letters are not seen by the immediate Superiors. Though this may open the door to a certain amount of irresponsible gossip, it supplies such obvious advantages, that the Society has ever been jealous of it, and has maintained the privilege inviolate. In 1600 the Society was still young, and certain regulations, which time has taught to be necessary, and which direct the writing of official reports along definite channels, did not exist yet. Hence even in official reports we often hear a personal note, and we find them fresh and lively, and not dry-as-dust, as bureaucratic communications are apt to be.

From the very beginning the Malabar Province found herself unwelcome by her elder sister, the Province of the North, as Goa was then called, and since the elder sister had to be foster-mother to the younger child, the child was stinted. The best men were kept in Goa, the fattest alms never found their way to the South, and yet Providence was kind. For though Goa had very great men indeed, yet the South was not far behind. First the founder of the Province, Fr. Laerzio, a born Superior, but no autocrat. A man full of initiative,

and yet not imprudent. He knew how to agree with Archbishop Roz, another giant in the History of the Malabar Province—though it is not always easy for energetic Superiors to see eye to eye with equally energetic Bishops, even if they are Jesuit Bishops. We do not wish to anticipate; the greatness of Fr. Laerzio will unfold itself by and by, in his deeds and in his letters.

Next Fr. Fenicio, the founder of the Calicut Mission, one of the first Europeans to write systematically on Hinduism, the first who has left us a reliable description of the Todas, a successful diplomat, and a holy religious. His letters are among the most interesting we have ever read, whether he describes his disputations with the Calicut Brahmins, or his Missions among the Thomas Christians, or what, in his opinion, should have been the policy of the Archbishop of Cranganore towards them. The sixteenth century Jesuits could despatch their letters to Europe only once or twice a year. Now we can write every day. But the difference between theirs and our performance makes us almost regret that the Air Mail has ever been established.

In this first volume we shall deal with the first fifty years of the History of the Malabar Province. Later on other men will step on the stage, and we shall be happy to describe their work.

The home life of the Jesuits in Malabar during these fifty years was at times disturbed by an exaggerated spirit of nationalism. There are frequent references to it both in official and private letters. We have not hidden the fact, for we believe edification may be achieved not only by pointing out the virtues of men, but also their failings. The first exhort us to do good; the second to avoid evil.

Some may find fault with us, because apparently we only mention Provincials and Rectors in this brief chapter, as if all the work was done by them. Well, Provincials and Rectors in our history are like mile-stones along a road. The stones mark the distance, the Superiors, the time. But everybody knows that the life of a community is lived by the community with its head, not by the head alone. So, even though we do not mention them, let the reader, as he goes on, think of the countless acts of virtue, of obedience, of humility, of self-denial,

which were exercised both by the Superiors who are named and by their nameless subjects. As it is now, so it was in the sixteenth century. The real workers are not only those who are mentioned most often, but even the nameless and the obscure—like nameless flakes of snow, which make up the great white mantle, like nameless blades of grass, which make the lawn so green and so beautiful.

1. The Establishment of the Malabar Province

Till 1601 the Society had only one Province in India—that of Goa—and therefore the interests of the South were in a sense the same as those of the North. From 1601 the two are distinct.

The reasons which led to the foundation of the new Province were numerous. The first was the extent of the Missions in India. Goa was the centre from which Missionaries started for Malabar, the Fishery Coast, Malacca, the Moluccas, Pegu, Bengal, the Capital of the Great Mogul, Tibet and even Abyssinia. Co-ordination of work was becoming more and more difficult. The different problems of far flung Christian communities could not be dealt with at all adequately from Goa. No regular provincial visitations were possible. The supply of men and funds was not equitable. The formation of Missionaries suffered.

The Jesuits in the South had houses in Cochin, in Vaipicota, at Cranganore, in Calicut, in Quilon, in Tuticorin, at Punicael, in Mylapore and so on, up to Bengal, in far away Malacca, in the Moluccas. They had an important Mission among the Thomas Christians. They had a Seminary at Vaipicota, a Catechist's school in Quilon.

Goa was too far away to understand their problems. They needed a nearer centre of authority, a closer nucleus of unity.

Fr. Albert Laerzio, who was sent to Rome as Procurator, acquainted Fr. General Aquaviva with the state of affairs. Fr. Aquaviva understood the situation, and the General Congregation expressed a desire that a new Province should be formed. The matter was taken in hand in India, and a Vice-Province was established in Malabar. The first Vice-Provincial was Fr. Manuel Viega.

no Indians

Fr. General Aquaviva had sent detailed instructions regarding the establishment and organization of the New Province.

It is interesting to read the remarks of the Vice-Provincial on Fr. General's tentative dispositions in a letter written from Cochin on the 10th December 1601 to Fr. Alvarez, the Assistant for Portugal.

2. The Noviciate

Writes Fr. Viega: "The Vice-Province has no Seminary where the Humanities are taught, nor a Noviciate where its members are formed. Now, if we have to receive only those subjects which Goa might send us, we run the risk of getting people old and useless, whom the Provincial may wish to get rid of. For since Goa does not see the needs of the South, but only those of the North, it is to be feared lest the latter should appear greater, and my appeals may sound exaggerated. Hence it is desirable that of those who come from Portugal some should be especially destined for the South, so that the choice be not left to Goa; otherwise we shall never get men of great worth. The case of this Vice-Province is not the same as that of Japan. Those who go to Japan have to be better tested, for no one returns from there with honour. But this Province has the same climate as Goa, and we easily pass from one to the other. Hence those who come to India may as well come direct here. Thus we shall get good preachers and learned men." The remarks of Fr. Viega are perfectly true and though they may sound startling to the inexperienced, they will appear quite natural to those who understand human limitations. Fr. Viega did not see the possibility of having a separate Noviciate yet; "unless"—as he writes later—"we do not wish to fill the Society with Indians or Eurasians, which is not good". (1) That is why he insists on getting the subjects direct from Europe. As to recruiting Religious from the Portuguese in India, he says: "The Portuguese soldiers from whom we might hope to recruit some Religious go to Goa, and they are not enough even for that Noviciate."

Yet the new Vice-Province was to have its own Noviciate and soon, for a bigger man than Fr. Viega was going to be put at the helm, under whose guidance the new Province would steer safely. That man was Fr. Albert Laerzio. In a letter dated 18th January 1604, he writes: "What grieves me most is the little help which the Province of Goa gives us. One would say—to judge from what has taken place last year—that they do their best to prevent us from organizing ourselves and from being independent, they do not want to give us any one. Last year they refused us a man to take charge of the Novices. That obliged me to entrust them to Fr. John Francis David. I am happy to say that he acquits himself of his charge very well indeed. He has a good deal of tact, and great talents."

So Fr. Laerzio, who had succeeded Fr. Viega as Vice-Provincial, had founded the Noviciate, and though he could not hope to get the best from Goa, he knew how to use the second best, who, not infrequently, turn out better than the predestined ones. But Fr. Viega had become Provincial at Goa, and, strange to say, he who had known the difficulties of the South, as its first Vice-Provincial, seemed now to have forgotten them. In fact Laerzio remarked: "This Province finds in Goa neither help nor remedy for its troubles. It is useless to write there. They do nothing for us."

3. Extent of the New Province

In the letter just quoted, addressed to the Assistant, Fr. Alvarez, wrote Fr. Laerzio: "The burden which your Rev. has put on my shoulders is so heavy that I am convinced it is more than I can bear. If, when I was in Rome, I had realized what I was in for, I would have done my best to escape it.

This Province is very vast. It embraces all the Missions to the Heathen, all the Residences of the South with more than 100,000 souls, not to speak of the 200,000 of the Serra of St. Thomas. The troubles and quarrels with Rajahs are constant. The Fathers who have to undertake so many works are few. Some of our houses, like that of Coulam, on the Travancore Coast, are very poor. The visitation of the Vice-Province up to San Thome is very tiring. One would need an iron-constitution to cope with the work." That Fr. Laerzio was not exaggerating is plain from the letter—which we have already quoted—of his predecessor.

In the ninth para of his instructions to the Vice-Provincial, Fr. General, little realizing the tremendous distances and the difficulties of travelling, ordered that at the beginning of his office, the Vice-Provincial should visit in person Malacca and Bengal, as if they were next door.

To this Fr. Viega answered: "With regard to the visitation, the partition of the Province is ill-proportioned. In fact, to visit the North, less than six months are needed, but for the Vice-Province, three years are scarcely sufficient leaving out the Moluccas. To visit Malacca one year is necessary sailing in May and returning in March in order to take advantage of the monsoon... To visit Bengal, one has to leave in May, and cannot return before February... To visit the Coasts of Travancore and the Fishery from Manar up to San Thome, more than six months are needed; for, setting out in May, one cannot be back before October, just in time for the ships bound for Portugal. I do not speak of the visitation of Coulam and Vaipicota, which are quite near. From all this one can see that if three years are needed to visit the Vice-Province, in these three years only once there will be the opportunity to profit of the monsoon favourable for the home voyage, to receive the letters from Rome and to answer them."

Within a few years the Malabar Province will comprise:

(1) The Mission of the Serra, or of the Thomas Christians
(2) „ „ Travancore and the Fishery Coast
(3) „ „ Bisnagar
(4) „ „ Madura
(5) „ „ Pegou and Bengal
(6) „ „ Ceylon
(7) „ „ Malacca
(8) „ „ Moluccas. (2)

4. The Scholasticate

In the fourteenth para of his instructions to the Vice-Provincial, Rev. Fr. General dealt with the Scholasticate. Here is what the pessimistic Fr. Viega thought on the matter: "For the present it is not possible to have a Scholasticate in this Vice-Province, for the income of the College of Cochin suffices only for 24 persons. The income consists of 3,500 Xeraphins, equivalent to 2,500 Cruzados. The 24 members of the community work in the ministry for souls, they direct two classes of Latin, an elementary school, and they teach the Humanities. I do not know if we shall be able to get an increase of grant from the King, who is the founder of the College, and thus increase the personnel... Even if the income should suffice for maintaining the Scholastics, I do not think we could have a course of Arts and of Theology, for experience has taught us that the whole Province (*i.e.*, North and South) is not capable of forming a course to last regularly 3 years at St. Paul's, nor of securing such a number of Theologians as to deserve 3 Professors, for needs arise all of a sudden, and we are compelled to send the Scholastics elsewhere before they have completed their studies. Your Rev. knows it; for many complaints must have reached you on this point. As to the course of Philosophy, in order to secure a decent number of Scholastics, it has been necessary to dispense some Novices from completing their two full years of Noviciate, and make them study Philosophy, though they were not very strong in Latin. How then can India have two Scholasticates when there is not a single student from outside to continue his studies? For, if he is a Portuguese, he becomes either a Religious or a soldier; and if some become secular priests, they are either Eurasians or Natives; and these are satisfied with a little Latin and some Moral Theology."

The arguments advanced by Fr. Viega seem reasonable enough. Yet, his large-hearted successor, Fr. Laerzio, was not deterred from opening both a Noviciate—as we have seen—and a Scholasticate as well. While Fr. Viega seems to have been a typical clerk, who, sitting at his table, formulates the difficulties inherent in any course of action, and abandons both action and course, Fr. Laerzio was a man of initiative, who knew that very often life overcomes difficulties which had seemed insurmountable on paper. For instance, Fr. Viega was much perturbed at the want of means but Fr. Laerzio found them, as they are always found by those who trust in God and work for His Glory. In a letter of Fr. Lambert Ruscius, a Belgian, we read: "In the last Congregation your Rev. was pleased, on the request to make Cochin with its dependent houses a Province, to decide that, for the present, it could be only constituted as a Vice-Province, because some conditions required

for the creation of a Province were not fulfilled. The principal reason was the absence of a Novitiate. But it is a defect that can soon be rectified. For a benefactor of the Society has placed aside twenty thousand gold pieces for the foundation of the Novitiate, in case there is no founder. Another gentleman thinks of leaving by his will a good sum for this purpose."

As to the subjects for the Novitiate we glean some information from a letter of Fr. Francis David, written to Fr. Alvarez, Assistant, on the 1st January 1604: "Here the Provincial has entrusted me with the care of the Novitiate, which began with 12 Novices, and a public class of Scholastic Theology, involving the obligation of preaching from time to time. Now all this is above my strength, but your Rev. knows what miracles obedience can perform.

"Six Portuguese, well endowed with the talents necessary for working well in the Society have been received here. Six more have come from Goa. This was not necessary, for many are asking to be received here. Yet, we had to close our doors to them, for Fr. General allowed us to have twelve Novices only, and the Scholastics from Goa had been with us for a long time. This was providential, because their example has done much good to the local recruits.

"We hope that this year's fleet will bring us Fr. General's permission to admit greater numbers, and that it will bring us our Founder as well, who will allow us to have a Novitiate separate from the College. This will be a source of happiness for all the citizens, because of the attachment they have to the Society, and in particular to the Novices, as is proved by the abundant alms with which they load them, every time we send them to beg by way of mortification.

"This year we have started another class of Theology under Fr. Francis Soarez, who was given charge of the cases from the first. The number of students has also increased; they are nine in all, seven of Ours, and two from outside.

Debile principium.... But even a beginning is something achieved. Really it is amazing enough to see in Cochin at the same time a Novitiate founded, a course of Theology opened, and the number of inmates doubled. God shows that this

work is His own, by causing the income to increase in proportion. In giving such a fine beginning, he wants us to hold better hopes for the future. With all our limitations we hold heated discussions, and strut about as if we were fifty; but not without difficulty, for we lack books. But God is equal to everything. I read the treatise on the Incarnation, Fr. Soarez continues referring to the *Prima* which he had begun to explain in detail to some of the students in his room."[1]

The resources mentioned in the preceding letters are stated precisely in that of Fr. Laerzio of 18th January 1604:

"To the College of Cochin, Antonio Guedes Morais has given 25,000 pardaos to invest in stock, without speaking of other gifts that individuals have made us this year, for everybody has a great affection for the Society.[2]

"Further Jesual de Borges has constituted the College his heir. Thanks to him we shall inherit a legacy of 15,000 pardaos, for construction work, and to provide for our maintenance. Another has bequeathed 26,000 pardaos to found the Novitiate. It will be situated near the College on a magnificent site. A part of the ground is already bought, quite near the beach, very secluded and very convenient for all. A better place could not have been found."

Thus then the Vice-Province of Malabar began to develop; benefactions came, and with them the hope of a certain progress. But we shall have occasion to see that these gifts did not fail to create difficulties of more than one kind.

The Novitiate had begun. The Catalogue of 1604, the first which has come down to us (it is dated 15th January) gives us the names of 10 novices, of 5 students of speculative Theology, 2 of Moral Theology and of 10 humanists.

These beginnings were modest. Six years later, in December 1610, we find the names of 11 theologians, 5 philosophers, 4 humanists and 12 novices. It would seem that Rome had not gone back on its first decision, fixing the number of Novices at 12.

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1 Letter to Aquaviva, written from Arripupatti in Travancore, 13th November 1603.

2 Antonio Guedes had already given 20,000 pardaos to the College of Vaipicota.

5. Father Laerzio—The Founder of the Malabar Province

We shall say something now about the workers who prepared the soil for the vineyard of the Lord, and about the obstacles they met in preaching the Gospel.

The first to compel our attention is Fr. Albert Laerzio, the true founder of the Southern Province, whose greatest achievement was the Madura Mission.

Here and there, we were able to glean some data on this great missionary, from the documents that are the sources for this history.

Fr. Laerzio was born at Orta, in the Papal States in 1557, entered the Society in 1576 and set out for the Indies in 1579. At Goa he took his final vows on the 9th of July 1590. He was in turn Master of Novices for 12 years, Rector of Salsette, and "Socius" to Fr. Visitor. In 1599 he was deputed to Rome, to the Congregation of the Procurators, by the Province of Goa. In September 1602 he returned with 60 missionaries, of whom 35 were priests. He had negotiated with Fr. Claude Aquaviva for the division of the two provinces. The offices he had held till then in the Society marked him out as the man best fitted to be in charge of the organization of the new Vice-Province. In fact he remained Provincial until December 1611. Having passed some time in the Missions of Malabar he became again Master of Novices in 1619. Soon afterwards he was elected Procurator to Rome for the second time. He returned in 1624 and in 1626, almost at the end of his life, he was appointed Provincial again. He died at Cochin in 1630.

To judge of his work we must see him at work.

To administer a province even in ordinary times talent and prudence are required. But the extent of this Province and the peculiar circumstances of Malabar at the beginning of the seventeenth century made the situation of the Provincial extraordinarily difficult. It was at this time that the Dutch, excited by cupidity and hatred of Catholicism, made war upon the Portuguese in all the Eastern Seas with a fury that time could not cool. Little by little the greater part of the Portuguese establishments changed masters, and each defeat of the Portuguese meant the loss of a country conquered for Christianity. Colombo, Jaffna, Malacca and Cochin were all lost for the Portuguese and for religion.

Moreover the Portuguese were not masters in those depots which they possessed along the Indian Coasts and in the islands. They did built fortresses to shelter their troops and to safeguard their commerce. Almost everywhere they had built churches and had secular priests, who administered the Sacraments to the Portuguese-speaking Christians.

The King of Portugal, it must be admitted, desired the conversion of infidels far more eagerly than his Viceroys and the Commandants of his fortresses. He gave subsidies to missionaries in some places and paid for the maintenance of the Father who in each of the principal ports was called the *Father of the Christians* whose main business was to instruct prospective converts and to take care of orphans of heathen parents. But Portuguese political authority was very limited. The Indians in Portuguese Settlements owed allegiance to the kings of the country, to whom they paid taxes and to whose exactions they submitted. They never dreamed of shaking off their yoke. We shall give examples: at Calicut the Zamorin was the sovereign and it was with his authorisation that churches were built there; likewise at Tanor, at Cochin and throughout Malabar, where each town had its petty Raja. The King of Travancore held sway over Quilon and the coast districts. The Fishery Coast recognized the suzerainty of the Naik of Madura down to the boundaries of the Marava District. San Thome was under the King of Bisnagar and Negapatam under the King of Tanjore. It was the same with regard to Pegu, Arakan and Bengal. We lay stress on this point because it is generally lost sight of by writers who, because they fail to remember it, have passed very erroneous judgements on the position of the Fathers and the Christians with regard to the King of Portugal. Danvers, a recent English writer, echoes the reproach found in the correspondence of the Viceroy, Viscount Linhares, against the Jesuits because they fought for the freedom of their converts. On becoming Christians, Indians acquired the right of protection from the King of Portugal but they did not become his subjects.

No less tact was needed to deal with those who, by vocation or duty, had chiefly to promote missionary work; I mean the Bishops, the secular and regular clergy, especially the religious of other Orders, and the officials of the King of Portugal, those whom to-day we should call the bureaucrats.

The difficulties peculiar to these parts were not new. St. Francis Xavier experienced them. But new-comer as he was to India, since he had yet done nothing at all, he made himself as small as possible in the eyes of the Bishop and clergy, then less numerous than fifty years later, and prescribed the same conduct to his fellow-workers. But as the Society increased, it found itself in contact with the religious of other orders and the secular Clergy in many places and the occasions for friction became necessarily more frequent. At Cochin the Bishop Don Frei Andre de Santa Maria[3] was a Franciscan. There were also other Franciscans in that town, as well as at Colombo, Tuticorin, San Thome and other places. Soon the Dominicans arrived (1606).

As for the King's Officers, they had not improved since the time when St. Francis Xavier wrote stern letters to the King of Portugal about them. Avarice, cruelty, injustice, immorality were rampant in all ranks of society and this was not one of the least obstacles to the spread of Christianity among the Indians. Often the Fathers had to step in between their Christians and the King's Officers, to protect them against their exactions. This was one of the most real grievances of the Portuguese against the Jesuits. They could not pardon them for protecting the converts from being oppressed and robbed on all occasions.[4]

Must we add another element of a more internal character, which would not fail to present difficulties to the Provincial? I mean the national spirit. Laerzio was Italian, the greater part of his subordinates Portuguese. In course of time an undercurrent of hostility was formed against the Provincial and it was not long before a division began between Portuguese and Italians. Goa did certainly manifest this national spirit. The Viceroy himself will forbid any higher office to be conferred on Italian Jesuits, under pain of incurring

[3] Bishop of Cochin, 1588–1610.
[4] Oriente Conquistado C. 2, D.i, 27.

the royal displeasure and suffering the loss of all subsidies. But we anticipate. Let us hasten to say that after all this little Malabar Province offers a beautiful object lesson from this point of view. The number of Italian Fathers was always considerable there: at times there must have been some uneasiness created by the national spirit. At no time, however, were the difficulties on this score so very serious. It seems that the famous Fr. Valignani, while on a visit to the Province of India, had declared that Portuguese and Italians understood each other well; but that it was not the same with the Spaniards. But the number of Spaniards was always limited. Portuguese and Italians, and, towards the end, Germans and Frenchmen also, spread the Gospel here with a success which can be explained only by the spirit of union and charity, which does not cease to reign among the members of this vast family. The missionaries of Malabar, to whatever nationality they belonged, have accomplished marvels of apostolate, and their names are an honour to the Society.[5]

But to return to Fr. Laerzio: After having organized the College of Cochin he set about visiting the Vice-Province. At first he thought of going to Malacca and Bengal. But English and Dutch vessels made the seas very dangerous for the Portuguese, and he was advised to postpone the visitation. He managed, however, to visit Malabar proper and the Fishery Coast. Here a terrible storm was brewing, of which we shall speak in a future chapter. Similarly we shall defer to another place the work of the Fathers among the Thomas Christians.

In 1605 the Vice-Province of Malabar was made into a regular Province, and Fr. Laerzio became its first Provincial. The formal separation accentuated the want of charity, which already existed between the Fathers of Goa and the Fathers of the South. The Provincial complains bitterly in a letter to Fr. General. His difficulties with the Bishop of Cochin regarding the affairs on the Fishery Coast might have abated, if Goa had been more sympathetic. Also, the number of Fathers was quite inadequate to the work. "Of the thirty-five priests whom I have brought to India," wrote Fr. Laerzio, "they should

[5] The above was written by the late Fr. L. Besse, S.J., a Frenchman.

have given me twelve at least." But Fr. Viega, his predecessor in Malabar who was now Provincial at Goa, did not understand. Even the Visitor—Fr. Nicholas Pimenta—seemed deaf. However the persevering Laerzio did not give up, and while in 1604 he had only 128 subjects, of whom 75 were Priests; in 1605 the number was 137 with 78 priests; in 1606, 150 and 88 priests; in 1609, 146 and 90 priests.

At this time Fr. De Nobile started his great experiment in missionary work. The opposition was strong and widespread, but both Laerzio and Archbishop Roz were on his side. Their views were broad and far-seeing. They were not cramped by nationalistic prejudices.

In 1605 the Feast of St. Ignatius was celebrated in Cochin with great splendour. Solemn High Mass in honour of the Blessed Trinity, Academy of the Scholastics and Panegyiric in honour of the Blessed, where—we are told—the insinuations and calumnies which had been broadcast from another pulpit were suitably countered.

The jealousies of Religious Orders in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are a blot in the History of the Church. Let us thank God they have almost disappeared now. In 1606 Laerzio wrote: "The Friars of St. Francis are our great enemies. Nothing keeps them quiet; on every occasion, both private and public, they endeavour to do us harm. Let God be praised." (*Laerzio to Aquaviva,* December 1606.) These are strong words indeed, and quite different from what legend would make us expect from a smooth spoken Jesuit.

But, in view of what was happening on the Fishery Coast and in Ceylon, they are not exaggerated. We shall give ample proof of it elsewhere. A small incident is related here. Fr. Laerzio, on his return from Rome, had brought with him precious relics, which were carried in solemn procession through the streets of Cochin. The whole town accompanied them with great devotion. Only the Friars were absent!

The relations of Fr. Laerzio with Archbishop Roz continued excellent—"as when he was in the Society"—wrote Laerzio; and the Archbishop wrote about the Provincial "All the Fathers here are doing their duty, and they help me as well as they can, above all the Provincial Fr. Laerzio. I do not know what I could do without him. I can assure your Paternity

that he carries out very well what you have so warmly recommended him. It is on this account that he has many troubles and difficulties; but he does not mind, because being a good Religious, he desires to please you, and to serve God. Thus I consider, and shall always consider, him as a Father, and I shall always follow his advice." (*Letter to Aquaviva,* 23rd January 1611.)

One of the accusations against Fr. Laerzio was that the Superiors of the various houses were not Portuguese but Italian.

In fact in 1605 we find Fr. Jerome Gomez, Rector of the College of Cochin, in place of Fr. Antonino Schipani, who becomes Rector again one year later, and is recommended for the solemn Profession, because—as Laerzio wrote to Aquaviva in December 1606—all loved him for his virtue, his talents and his authority. Fr. Nicholas Spinola—a member of the noble house which gave a Martyr to the Church in Japan, and another great Missionary later on to Kanara—was Superior at Coulam (Quilon). Fr. Levanto was Superior at San Thome, Fr. Pecci at Bisnagar, Fr. Fenicio in Calicut and so on. The accusation therefore was not ill-founded. But the rule in the Society is to choose the men best fitted for a post, whatever their nationality; and we believe that Fr. Laerzio followed it.

Later on he himself noticed that the Community of Cochin desired a change, for Fr. Schipani was old and sickly and Italian! "It is the same with me"—added the good Provincial —"It is five years already that I am in charge of the Province. Will not your Paternity be pleased to hand it over to some Portuguese, either from here, or from Goa?"

But his Paternity was not of the same opinion; and Fr. Laerzio had to carry on bravely for some years more.

Fr. Manuel Roiz, who in his letters to Fr. Alvarez—the Assistant for Portugal—complained about the prevalence of Italian Superiors in Malabar added (1st November 1606): "There is another thing in Fr. Alberto Laerzio—the Provincial—of which I wish to speak to your Rev., that you may warn him. For I have a great affection for him, and I should like him to be loved by all. It is this, that at times he warns his subjects of their defects in such a way that they understand from what quarter the accusation comes. Hence troubles and enmities.

"*For instance*: All your companions, and especially so and so, say that you are fastidious, difficult to satisfy. The Rector of the College does not want you. The Rector and the Archbishop of the Serra, do not require your services!

"When I was his Socius and Admonitor I told Fr. Laerzio about this defect. He answered that he did not wish to take upon himself the full weight of the complaints about the Fathers. Given the frailty of human nature, that is very inconvenient. The subjects will not dare to acquaint him with the defects of others, and so on."

It is not improbable that Fr. Laerzio had some other reason to justify his policy. Perhaps some exaggerated reporters—and they are never lacking even in the best regulated Communities—needed a check; and the good Provincial was not loath to supply it, by manifesting their names to their victims.

In justice to Fr. Manuel Roiz, we take the following from a letter which he wrote to Fr. Alvarez on 25th November 1608.

"Fr. Provincial Laerzio governs very well. He is animated with great zeal for the well-being and the reform of the Society, as well as for the conversion of the heathen. Moved by this zeal, he did not hesitate to give up the churches of the Fishery Coast. Perhaps it would have been better for our good name to give them up from the beginning."

We shall hear a different tune about this sorry business later. But then men would not be men had they all the same views. And Jesuits are men.

6. Fr. Nicholas Pimenta, Visitator

In 1609 Fr. Nicholas Pimenta visited the Province of Malabar. Even before, in the year 1600, when he was Provincial of Goa, and the question of the division was being mooted, he had visited the Fishery Coast and Travancore.

Then, while he was in Cochin, he was much feted. An Academy was held in his honour, where the actors in a *"Dialogue"* on Christian Doctrine were so richly attired that it was estimated that their dresses must have cost more than 6,000 cruzadoes. Another *"Dialogue"* in Latin, prepared by the "Master of the Second Class" drew great crowds.

The Visitator was received with great honour also in Travancore. The Rajah—remarks the Annual Letter of 1601—

is very friendly to the Portuguese, in spite of his superstition. A short time before he had performed the disgusting ceremony of being born, in a very realistic manner, from a golden cow. After the ceremony, the gold, of which the cow was made, was distributed among the crowds. We are told the Rajah of Travancore contributed a yearly sum of 100 pardaos to the Rector of Coulam (Quilon) and to the Vicar of the church at Tengapatam.

But the Visitator objected to this; for he considered it against the Institute; and ordered the Fathers to give up the money, unless they could apply it to the College, which, of course, could have an income of its own.

The Visitation in 1609 did not work out so smoothly. We do not possess the Official Report; but we can gather the impressions left by Fr. Pimenta, from various letters. Several Fathers were charmed by his kindness, and greatly encouraged in their work. That was but natural; for it is not difficult for a Visitator to console and encourage the Missionaries, who do not hold positions of special responsibility. But with Superiors, it is different. Often the points of view differ. The opinions of a new-comer at times do not tally with the opinions of men who have been long on the spot, and who have great experience. The Visitators at times may appear dictatorial and autocratic; at times they may be swayed by national prejudices, or by hastily formed opinions.

Fr. Laerzio wrote to Aquaviva on the 6th of December 1610: "I am sending the Catalogue from which your Rev. will see the distribution of the subjects. Fr. Visitator has changed at will, without asking anybody's advice, except for Madura. The personnel of the College of Cochin has been partially changed, beginning with the Rector. All the consultors of the Province have been changed. Your Rev. will understand that there are objections to a manner of government so absolute. ...... The new Rector of Cochin, Fr. Soeiro, has great talents. He is not inspired by the nationalistic spirit. But he is somewhat light, imaginative, defiant. In secret he tells everything to everybody. Note that I love him, and that I brought him here from Portugal.

"The Visitator has ordered the courses of Philosophy to begin in November, instead of June. As Professor, he has appointed Fr. Vincent Alvarez Casseiro. ....

"Fr. Levanto was Rector at San Thome. He was *persona grata* to the King of Bisnagar and to the Bishop of Mylapore, and was endeavouring to maintain the Christian Community of Chandragiri and Vellore. Fr. Visitator has replaced him with Fr. de Sa. Foolishness."

We shall speak elsewhere of the troubles with the Bishop of Cochin. Fr. Pimenta tried to heal the breach; but he burnt his fingers. In a letter of Archbishop Roz—which will be quoted more fully in another place—the fiery Spaniard does not mince matters. He says, among other things: "Fr. Visitator has taken the wrong road; and if he continues along it, he will not come to a good end ...... (And yet) the outward aspect of this province is extremely fine. The College of Cochin has no peer in good government and peace, thanks to Fr. Albert Laerzio, who, in times so stormy, has taught us by his patience that we must suffer for Christ Our Lord, and has revealed to us the solid edifice which he has reared in his soul. That Our Lord may give him more abundant graces. For, if we look at the turn of events, our troubles will not be over so soon." So far the Archbishop.

7. Churches, Colleges and Missions

Let us now give some statistics. The Vice-Province in 1601 numbered 97 Religious, living at Cochin, Calicut, Vaipicota, Porcas, Angamale and Quilon on the West Coast.

Along this Coast, down to Cape Comorin, a distance of 25 leagues, there were 44 Christian villages and 36 Churches. Along the East Coast, from Cape Comorin to the Bay of Bengal, there were 17 Fathers, 1 Scholastic and 2 Lay-Brothers, working in 22 Churches, 6 of which were in the interior.

In Bengal and Pegou 7 Fathers. In Malacca, one college and two Parishes with 5 Fathers. In the Moluccas, one college and four stations with 5 Fathers, who, later on were increased to 10.

They were indeed scattered far and wide; but all eager to spread God's Kingdom, to work for the Glory of God. After St. Francis Xavier's meteoric appearance in Ceylon, Fr. Barzeus sent there, in 1552, Fathers Manuel Moraes and Antonio Dias. Excessive work cut short the labours of Fr. Moraes, who was recalled to Goa, and died there, in the odour of sanctity, in 1553. From 1553 to 1601 the Franciscans worked alone in the island. The Jesuit Mission was started by the Malabar Vice-Province in December 1601. Favoured by the Bishop of Cochin, and invited by the King of Jaffna, the Fathers developed rapidly. In 1602 they were 8. We shall speak elsewhere of the troubles they had with the Franciscans. Truly the Cross has accompanied the spread of the Society all over the world.

Fr. Ayres de Sa, in 1598, started the Mission of Chandragiri, capital of the Kingdom of Bisnagar. King Venkata Rajulu had allowed the Fathers to build a church, and had assigned to it the revenues of a village. In fact, he was most kind, and had made a gift to the Fathers of 3,000 pardaos. He loved to speak often with Fathers Riccio and Melchior Coutinho, and to visit the English Painter, Fr. Alexander Fernandez. But the Mission never developed, and the Fathers abandoned it in 1615.

Fathers Peter Dias and Antony Vas were sent to Bengal from Goa in 1576. The following year Akbar granted leave to Captain Pero Tavares to found Hugli, where the Fathers worked chiefly among the Portuguese. In 1598, Fr. Pimenta sent Fathers Francis Fernandez and Dominic DeSouza to organise the Bengal Mission. Everywhere they were enthusiastically received by their compatriots, and two Rajahs gave them more than 600 ducats each to build churches. The first Jesuit church in Bengal was built at Chanduan, and dedicated to the Holy Name of Jesus, the 1st of January 1600.

The Mission passed from Goa to the Malabar Province.

In 1605, Fr. Robert De Nobili reaches Goa, and is sent to Cochin. There he falls sick, and goes to the Fishery Coast to recoup his health. During his convalescence he learns Tamil, and in November 1606, Fr. Laerzio takes him with himself to Madura, and leaves him there with Fr. Gonsalvo Fernandez. Is it to De Nobili or to Laerzio that is due the first idea to adopt the Brahmin mode of life to carry on Missionary work? We do not know. Fr. Antonio Rubino was writing from Bisnagar that, as long as the Fathers were identified with the Pranguis, nothing could be done with caste people.

Meditation, keen observation soon convinced Fr. De Nobili that Rubino's ideas were perfectly sound. He decided to start the experiment. Archbishop Roz and Fr. Laerzio encouraged him. So it is to these three men—and especially to De Nobili and Laerzio—that is due the foundation of the Madura Mission and the beginnings of one of the noblest experiments in the work of conversion ever witnessed in the history of the Church. But of this more in detail elsewhere.

8. Last Years of Fr. Laerzio's Provincialate

Ten years had passed since the beginning of the Malabar Province. It was poor both in men and resources. "Send to me good men," writes Fr. Laerzio, "without burdening the Province with expenses. Fr. Visitator (N. Pimenta) does not love us much. In two years he has taken ten Fathers and six Brothers for Goa, and has given us only five Fathers and five Brothers. Among the latter, there was Br. Sebastian de Oliveira, in the last stages of consumption, who died in September.

"In the same month three Portuguese vessels, having on board Fr. Francisco Pero (his successor) and 20 Jesuits (all good subjects) have arrived in Goa. Many thanks."

Fr. Laerzio thanks Fr. General for the six letters he has recently received from him.

In particular, he is very glad for the news which the General gives him that *La Mesa da Consciensa* in Lisbon has discussed the question of the Fishery Coast Churches, and decided it in favour of the Fathers. We know, on the other hand, that the Pope had written two Briefs to the Bishop of Cochin, blaming his conduct with regard to the Fathers; but, given his nature, and Europe being so far away, it was easy for him to pretend that the Briefs were not genuine, and to continue just as before.

"The question of *nationalism* did harm to the Province in Europe, and here some of Ours, not well affected towards foreigners, seem to act together with our enemies in Madrid."

Finally, Laerzio answers some accusations. Antonio Moraes had attacked the donations made to the Society by Antonio Guedes Moraes.

Some had written about it to Rome. Laerzio answers:

"Your Paternity has not been well informed. We owe nothing to this man. He was only half-brother to our Benefactor. One of his letters, intercepted by the Bishop of Cochin, had served for a double accusation against him. Fr. Ottavio Lombardo's going to Europe is providential. He will explain everything."

Similarly the going of Fr. Rubino to Ceylon to buy elephants for the King of Bisnagar had been misrepresented, as Fr. Levanto will explain in his letter.

Finally, Fr. Laerzio thanks Fr. Aquaviva for the precious encouragements he had given him. He will try to correspond by his deeds.

"God gives me great consolation in the midst of my trials. In my last Retreat I have received the most extraordinary favour in my life, and I am more than ever longing to suffer for Our Lord Jesus Christ."

Our Lord was good to this great servant of His, who did so much for His Glory and who had to suffer so much from men both inside and outside the Society.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

[1] From the article: "Un Significativo Documento De 1558 Sobre Las Missiones de Infieles de la Compania de Jesus" por Pedro Leturia, S.J., which appeared in the *Archivum Hist. S.J.*, Anno VIII. Fasc. I; Roma 1939, we learn that St. Francis Xavier was not favourable to the reception of Indians into the Society. The views of Fr. Laynez on the matter are given in a letter of the same to the Provincial of India, dated 31st December 1560: "Has considerado lo que V.R. escribe, que la gent de esa tierra no es apta para la Compania, como tambien lo escribo el P. Francisco (Javier) a nuestro P. Ignacio. Y aunque esto en aquel tiempo, y por ventura en este, por la mayor parte sea asi, todavia parece duro cerrar la Puerta a los que Dios N. Senor llamasse a su servicio en nuestro Instituto, si tuviesen las partes convenientes para el, pues no hay aceptation de personas ni naciones en su acatamieto. Asi que en los particulares alli se mire si se han de recibir o no. Y no se reciban los que no tuvieren para ello parte. Y no se cierre del todo lo puerta para quien la tuviere."

That the door was not absolutely shut is proved by the fact that Fr. Antonino Toscano was received—as we shall see later on—

into the Malabar Province. He was probably the first Tamil Jesuit.

The Document above quoted says: "(17). Videatur an ex incolis illarum regionum aliqui apti reddi possint ad institutum nostrae societatis suscipiendum, sive Goae instituantur, sive in Lusitaniam, vel alia Europae Collegia mittantur, ut postea vernacula lingua suos iuvare et per eos societas augeri et durare illis in locis possit, ne sit necessarium perpetuo operarios ex his locis mittere. Quod si non in omnibus, certe in quibusdam regionibus aliqui videntur eligi posse, qui ingenio et indole prae caetris pollere videantur." From the same document we quote the following numbers, which are of some interest:

(3) *De Operariis in Indiam Mittendis.* Consideretur an novi operarii in jam dictas regiones mittendi sint ... et qui sine detrimento gravi harum regionum, et ad utilitatem illarum, mitti poterunt, eligantur: et forte non pauci essent huiusmodi inter coadiutores probatiores et scholasticos, minori talento in litteris sed non mediocri in virtutibus donatos: ibi enim valde utiles esse possent, cum hic vix mediocriter utiles sint.

(6) *Domorum vel Collegiorum Erectio.* ... An in Civitate Cochin, domus professorum sit constituenda, an tantum collegium, an utrumque.

An curandum sit ut Ecclesia Sanctae Mariae, qua Nostri ibidem utuntur, propria efficiatur. De admittendo aut procurando collegio de Canganor (Cranganore).

An alia loca ubi nostri resideant in regione capitis Commurin, eligi oporteat, vel certe plures ex nostris licet non in propriis domibus, ibi residere debeant, ut conservateur in christiana religione tanta multitudo....

De Collegio Caulam (Quilon) quid agendum sit, cum periculum immineat propter arcem vicinam, ne subverti aliquando debeat.

(10) *De Pueris Domi Tenendis.* An in huiusmodi locis remotissimis, retinere poterunt nostri domi suae pueros, quos instituendos susceperint, ut fit Goae, et alibi, et si omnino id conveniet an distinctum refectorium et habitationes separatae nostrum et illorum esse debant. ...

In the *Chron.* II, p. 5 (Anno 1550), we find: "Collegia ubi pueri alebantur et instituebantur, inchoata jam tunc erant; nec alibi quam in India id Collegiorum genus quod maxima ex parte ex externis (domi habitantibus) constabant ... admissa fuerant."

(13) *De Cantu, etc.* An permitti debeat cantus in India et aliis in locis remotissimis quamvis in Europa non sit societati concessus si animadvertetur eas nationes ad Dei cultam et spiritualem profectum ex eo iuvari, ut Goae observatum est, et in Ethiopia.

(14) *De Cura Hospitalium.* An permitti debeat illis in regionibus munus suscipere regendi hospitalia, ut Goae, Punicalli et Bungi, cum alii externi non sint idonei, ad hoc praestandum vel cum ad aedificationem magnam id fore videtur; an quando statui oporteat ut curent per alios haec fieri. Sed si alii non fuerint idonei tunc ut ipsi id possint praestare.

Of the Hospital at Goa there is a very interesting description in *Pyrard De Laval's Voyages.*

(19) *De Indigenis ad Opus Christi Applicandis.* Videntur an alii ex indigenis apti reddi possint ad conversionem et conservationem aliorum, licet de societate non sint, sive ad ordines sacros promoveantur, sive laici permaneant, et quomodo.

(20) *Ut Qui Praesunt Benignitatem Subditis Exhibeant.* Quandoquidem per christianorum qui praesunt inhumanitatem ac charitatis defectum impedita fuit hactenus quorumdam infidelium conversio, et aliorum jam conversorum profectus, studendum videretur, per Reginae pietatem ac zelum gloriae Dei, ut prorex Indiae benignum se eis exhiberet, et alios prefectos humanos ac pios eis praeficeret; tunc enim etiam temporalia magis prospere cederent ut sperandum est si Christi negocium serio ageretur.

[2] To judge of the progress of the Vice-Province of Cochin, it is important to be clear about the number of its members and the nature of its works, at the moment of its foundation.

The Annual Goan Letter of 1601 gives us the list of the Houses in the two Provinces:

"The Province of Goa, which we may call the Northern Province, contains the following houses: 'the Professed house of St. Peter, the College of Saint Paul, and the Novitiate at Goa; the College of the Holy Ghost with twelve residences in the Island of Salsette; the College of St. Peter' in the city of Bassein; at Thana the *Collegium Inchoatum* of the Mae de Deus with five residences; in the town of Damaun, the College of the Eleven Thousand Virgins, with the residence of Diu; the College of Saints Peter and Paul at Chaul. Belonging also to this Province is the Mission du Pretre (Abyssinia) and the Mogul districts, with those that by the divine grace we shall found from Cambay to Cathay.

"The Vice-Province in the South possesses the College of the Mae de Deus in the City of Cochin, its Seminary; the *Collegium Inchoatum* of Santa Cruz at Vaipicota; in the hills there are some ancient Christians said to be founded by St. Thomas, on the territory of the Raja of Cochin, with the residence of Paliporto, and that of the Kingdom of Porcao; the *Collegium Inchoatum* of Coulam (Quilon) with the residence of the Travancore Coast, up to Cape Comorin; the College of Tuticorin, on the opposite coast known as the Fisheries, in the territory of the Naik of Madura, with 22 residences, namely 16 on the coast round Cape Comorin, the others in the island of Manar, and Madura, Capital of the Naik himself; the *Collegium Inchoatum* of San Thome, in the Kingdom of Bisnagar, with the residence of Chandragiri, Capital of the same Kingdom, Negapatam, and others on the Coromandel Coast; the College of Malacca and the residence of Tidor and of Amboyna

in the Moluccas." On San Thome depended Pegu and Bengal. Such in short is the vast field over which were displayed the activities of the Fathers of the South.

Ceylon is not mentioned in this letter because it was only in 1601 that the Bishop of Cochin invited the Jesuits to found a Mission there.

To cultivate a field so vast the Vice-Provincial had at his disposal 97 religious, of whom 64 were Priests, and the others, Brothers, set out in groups more or less numerous in the stations enumerated above. Here is the state of the personnel according to the Annual of 1601. (*Annual of Goa*, for the First Annual of the Vice-Province dated from 1602.)

(*a*) College of Cochin, 25, comprising also the Fathers of the two residences of St. Andrew and St. James.

(*b*) Calicut, 1 Father.

(*c*) Collegium Inchoatum of Santa Cruz at Vaipicota, 5 Fathers and 4 Lay-Brothers. On this College depend the residences of Porcao and of Angamale.

(*d*) Quilon College of Travancore, 4 Fathers and 1 Brother, with 4 other Fathers in the coast churches. Along this coast from Quilon up to Cape Comorin, a stretch of 25 leagues, were numbered 44 Christian villages and 36 churches.

(*e*) Along the Fisheries Coast, that is to say, from Cape Comorin up to the Bay of Bengal, the Society numbered 20 of its children, namely 17 Fathers, 2 Lay-Brothers and a Scholastic. There were 16 Churches along the Coast, and six in the interior. There were three other at Cadeyers, in the island of Manar.

(*f*) At Tuticorin, 3 Fathers and 3 Brothers not entrusted with the care of souls, because of the presence of a Vicar and an Assistant. But there was no lack of work. There had been as many as 700 communions for the Feast of Our Lady of the Snows, Patroness of our Church.

(*g*) At Negapatam 2 Fathers.

(*h*) At San Thome 3 Fathers and 3 Brothers, including Palicate and Mae de Deus.

(*i*) At Chandragiri 2 Fathers and 1 Brother.

(*j*) In Bengal and Pegu 7 Fathers.

(*k*) In the College of Malacca (College and two parishes) 5 Fathers.

(*l*) In the Moluccas, comprising one College at Ternate and four stations in the isles of Labaon, Liao, Ative and Alos (Amboyne), 5 Fathers.

CHAPTER X

THE FIRST LATIN BISHOP OF THE THOMAS CHRISTIANS: DON FRANCIS ROZ, S.J.

(1601–1624)

(A) HIS WORK FOR THE THOMAS CHRISTIANS

1. Fr. Francis Roz, S.J., is Appointed Bishop of the Serra

Let us now return to the Christians of St. Thomas. We have seen that at the close of the Synod of Diamper, they asked the Pope to grant them as Bishop no less a person than the Primate Don Alexis De Menezes, or should he be unable to accept, Fr. Francis Roz, S.J.

For several years the Portuguese had pressed the Holy See for the appointment of a Latin Prelate in the Serra. However, opinions differed as to the best candidate. Fr. di Giorgio, S.J. thus wrote to Fr. General Aquaviva on the 15th December 1593: "The Pastor (of the Thomas Christians) must fulfil the following conditions: (1) he must be a good man and a Catholic; (2) as far as possible, not of the Society; (3) he must by no means be a Portuguese; (4) he should be from our parts, *i.e.*, from Syria; (5) he must know the Syrian or Chaldæan tongue, Syrian being a little different from Chaldæan."

Remembering perhaps this advice, on the 8th of May 1597 the Pope thought of appointing Fr. John Baptist, O.P., a Marionite, but nothing was done, for no certain news had reached of Mar Abraham's death. In 1598 His Catholic Majesty presented a Jesuit Fr. Louis Cerqueira, already Coadjutor, *cum jure successionis*, of the Bishop of Japan; but the Church of Angamale was not yet under the patronage of the King of Portugal, and so the matter was dropped.

After the exploits of Archdeacon George before the Synod of Diamper, nobody thought of appointing him to Angamale. Various religious Orders—in fact, even his own—solicited

Archbishop Menezes to appoint one of theirs to the Bishopric of the Serra, but he would not hear of it. He favoured the choice of Fr. Francis Roz, S.J., who had been his great co-worker at the Synod of Diamper. Card. Alfonso Gesualdo[1] thus speaks of him: "The above mentioned Father Francis Roz was born at Gerona in Catalonia, from honest Catholic parents legitimately married. Now he is about forty. He has been a priest for 15 years. Unless prevented from doing so, he usually says Mass every day, and he is well acquainted with the ceremonies. He has always been a Catholic, and he has lived a good religious life. He joined the Society of Jesus when he was 18, and in it he is a professed of four vows, which he took in India. There, and especially in the Church of Angamale, he has worked for many years, and even now he labours piously and usefully, hearing confessions, preaching the Word of God, instructing those peoples in the true faith of Christ, all the more easily, for he knows Chaldean. His life is good and exemplary. He is most zealous for the salvation of souls, for which he is ready to suffer all things. He is prudent, and skilful in business. He has studied Theology. In fact he is an excellent Theologian, and a good Preacher. He has the doctrine necessary to teach others, as is required of a Bishop. He is deemed fit to rule a Cathedral Church, and especially that of Angamale, where he is well known, and desired as Bishop."

And so Fr. Roz was chosen Bishop of Angamale, which in 1600 was lowered to the rank of a Diocese, and made suffragan of Goa, and placed under the patronage of the King of Portugal. He was consecrated in Goa on the 25th of January 1601.

2. Difficulties

The least of the new Bishop's difficulties was the poverty of his See.[2] In the *Relazione* we read: "Since those priests and Christians were persuaded with the greatest difficulty to receive another Bishop different from that of Babylon, it seems

1 *Archivio Concistoriale, Acta Miscellanea,* Vol. 53, Apud Beltrami, pp. 246–47.

2 *Relazione sulle condizioni religiose dei Christiani del Malabar in seguito al Sinodo di Diamper e domande rivolte alla S. Sede–scritta probabilmentenel* 1601, Apud Beltrami, *op. cit.,* pp. 257–63.

necessary that in the beginning His Holiness should show special favours to this new Bishop, whom they have received from his hands, so that they may see the charity and love of the Roman Pontiff and they may live satisfied, and they may persevere in the obedience of the Roman Church, seeing how differently they are treated from the manner in which they were treated by the Babylonian Patriarch and by the Bishops sent by him, who were simoniacal and did nothing, nor did they confer any Sacrament without money. And since those priests are very poor, and their churches are without images, etc., and very poor, etc., and this new Bishop also is most poor; he has no more than an income of 500 ducats, given him by the Viceroy of India, with nothing more. He does not get a penny from the Christians, for they do not pay tithes or anything else; and in his Bishopric there are no pontifical ornaments wherewith to exercise his office decently, because the late Babylonian Bishops did not use them, and lived by simony.

"It would now be of great edification and consolation for those Christians—besides the need they are in—that Your Holiness should send to this new Bishop, who is so poor, at least secondhand things, which remain over in Your Sacristy, some church ornaments, some pictures for the other churches of those Kingdoms, so that those Priests and Christians, seeing the great charity shown by the Roman Church towards her subjects, and her beauty and adornment, they may be confirmed and established in their devotion and obedience to the Holy Catholic Church, to which after so many years, and with so much labour they have subjected themselves."

We have said that poverty was the least of the difficulties of the new Bishop. Another and far greater potential source of trouble was the Archdeacon. He knew that he should have been the Bishop, but that he had been rejected. For some years he kept quiet, but finally he revolted. Of course, he had on his side the disgruntled Priests, who could no more hear confessions, on account of their extreme ignorance, who could not extract money from the faithful by selling the Sacraments, who had lost, not only their churches, but what was far worse, even their wives. And then the Rajahs, always ready to profit by the internal divisions of the Christians, always ready to fish in troubled waters.

There was a great blunder that Archbishop Menezes had made at the time of the Synod. He had lowered the Archbishopric of Angamale to a mere Bishopric. "I assure Your Rev.", writes Bishop Roz to Fr. Alvarez, the Assistant of Portugal, "that even before I had put before the Cassanars what was happening, their faces changed, and I thought we were about to have new trouble on this occasion. "What wrong," they said, "have we done that His Holiness should take from our Church a title it has always had? Is it because we make our submission to the Apostolic See? Was not our Church founded by an Apostle? Is it not the most ancient Church in India? Why should the Roman Church take away that title from us? Oh, we know very well that is the doing of the Archbishop of Goa, for how can he be Primate, if our Church is more ancient than his? They were making such and similar remarks which it would take too long to write down. I had no other way of calming them than by saying that His Holiness was ill informed and that on learning what had been done, he would give them satisfaction. And now they are at peace. I have earnestly recommended to them not to speak of this before the people."[3] Further, another source of trouble was Angamale itself, because it was too far within the sphere of influence and intrigue, and even war, of native Rajahs. Cranganore would be more secure. Besides it was in Cranganore that the Apostle had first landed, it was Cranganore that had been the centre of Christianity in Malabar for so many centuries, and therefore if the policy of the Primate had to be reversed and if the Diocese had to be again an Archdiocese, Cranganore should be its headquarters. But Cranganore was a Portuguese fortress, and the Bishop of Cochin claimed jurisdiction over it. So he had to be persuaded to yield his rights. And so he was for some time; but then he changed, thus starting one of the most disgraceful jurisdictional quarrels that have troubled the Church in India. To proceed with a certain order in the history of the episcopal career of Don Francis Roz, we shall speak first of his work for the Syrian Christians, then of his difficulties with the Bishop of Cochin, and finally of his relations with his brethren, the Fathers of the Society.

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[3] Letter to Fr. Alvarez, translated by Fr. Heras, *Examiner*, March 26, 1938.

3. Activities of Don Francis Roz in Behalf of the Syrian Christians

(*a*) *The Visit of the Diocese.*—Soon after his appointment to the Bishopric of the Serra, Don Francis supervised the Syriac translation and printing of the Roman Ritual of the Exorcisms and the Benedictions of the Missal. Further he got ready for the press the Missal and the Roman Breviary.

Then he decided to visit his large Diocese. The visitation is described in the following letter of Fr. J. M. Campori to the General Cl. Aquaviva.

Vaipicota,
9th January 1604.

"This year 1603, the Lord Bishop made up his mind, before Lent, to make the visitation of certain churches of the St. Thomas diocese, situated inland, towards the East, where no Bishop had been for the last 30 years.

"He went first to Quaringachare (Chenganacherry?) where he was told that the Mussalmans were bent on preventing him from entering the church of this Bazaar. The Bishop had perforce to tell his clergy and laity to call for their Nairs, about 2,000 in number, in order to resist the Moors. No sooner had the latter seen that crowd of well-armed soldiers, than they chose to remain quiet. The Bishop and his clergy with the Christians, went through the Moors' Bazaar, in the midst of the pomp and cries of joy with which the Kings of the country used to be received.

"There was on that occasion an incident that might have endangered the peace of all this community.

"About 1,260 years or more, before, as is stated in their ancient histories, there lived in Malabar an Emperor by the name of Jacara Birti Perumal, who welcomed in his estate a rich Armenian named Quinas Thome, and made over to him as a donation the land of Cranganore, on which is now built the fortress of the same name, belonging to the King of Portugal. It is said, further, that this Armenian had brought his wife from Babylon, and that later on at Cranganore, he

took a woman of the country for his concubine; or according to others, he took his legitimate wife from among the St. Thomas Christians, and a slave as his concubine. It is from this foreigner it appears that two races of those St. Thomas Christians were issued; although the best and greater part of these Christians descend from those whom St. Thomas baptized at Mylapore, and who later on, being violently driven away by wars, passed over to the Malabar coast.[4]

"That Quinas Thome, who professed the same faith, joined them and as he was rich and powerful he obtaind great privileges from the King, and put up his capital or metropolis at Cranganore. In the two castes we have mentioned, everybody pretends to descend from the legitimate wife, and contends that those of the opposite caste are the descendants of the slave. Therefore they don't intermarry, and in the bazaars they have separate churches for each caste. They communicate in everything else; nevertheless there occur amongst them frequent quarrels and strifes.

"This year there were so profound dissensions between two bazaars of different castes, that it was impossible to effect their reconciliation. They came to blows, and on both sides some were wounded and killed.

"The King of Cochin on whose territory were those two bazaars, sent his Nairs against the most aggressive; their bazaar was destroyed and plundered, but the two parties were not appeased. New murders were in contemplation, new calamities threatened that unfortunate community. But by the grace of God, the Lord Bishop put a stop to those mortal feuds. On his way back from Cochin, where he had been called by the King to transact certain business, he stopped at our College of Vaipicota, and there peace was made between the Kings of Mangate and that of Angamale. The King himself came to make apology to the Bishop for having favoured those who were excommunicated at Angamale.

4 We have merely translated Fr. Campori's letter. It is not our intention to discuss the story alluded to. Those who wish to know more about this Quinas Thome *alias* Thomas of Cana, have only to read *Les Origines du Christianisme aux Indes* by His Excellency Mgr. Zaleski, Delegate Apostolic, Mangalore, 1915, pp. 423–38.

"Thence the Bishop went to Paliquare, where F. Stephen de Brito was busy teaching Christian Doctrine, and on Ash Wednesday, he distributed the sacred ashes to the delight of all, who thanked God for having allowed them to take part for the first time in so imposing a ceremony, after its meaning had been explained, and the fruits to be derived from it, pointed out to them.

"At Palicare, the Bishop began to visit, giving confirmation, making peace, separating couples who had lived for years in concubinage, hearing confessions, and ceaselessly giving religious instruction.

"The Bishop then visited Colijeira, a most ancient Church but with few inhabitants left, as a few years ago the country had been laid waste by the King of Cochin, to avenge the murder of an influential Christian. The Rosary was no more said there, because the devil had put in their head that after having recited it once, it would have been a great sin to omit to say it daily. Old people only used to recite it, as they were unable to do anything better. There was a large distribution of rosaries and medals.

"In that place young women would not go to confession except after they had been married.

"There were four St. Thomas Christians, who were the temporal Lords of upwards of 35,000 vassals, somewhat like Counts in Europe. But they were Christians only in name. In their houses they lived like pagans, had a lot of superstitious practices, and wore the *Coudoumbi*.[5] There exists among them a beastly custom; only one of the brothers gets married, but the wife is common to all. Two of them gave up that shameful custom, and all other superstitions. They made their confession, and received confirmation. They accompanied the Bishop everywhere, with an elephant, to the astonishment of the pagans, who could scarcely understand why they placed their glory in serving their prelate.

"A Cassanar who was addicted to superstitions and malefices to expel the devil, gave up that evil practice.

5 The *coudoumbi* or tuft of hair on the head had been prohibited by the Councils of Goa. In 1621 Pope Gregory XV at the request of Fr. De Nobili allowed it. Many Christians in S. India still wear it, though it is gradually disappearing.

"Kodamangalam[6] is three good leagues further. Another Christian who had under him 25,000 people accompanied also the Bishop. The road was so bad that soldiers had to carry the Bishop's palanquin, and that in a whole day it was impossible to reach the Church. He spent the night in the house of a rich Christian who received his Bishop with princely honours.

"On the following day the Chieftain of the country sent an elephant to do honour to the Bishop. The Christian with whom the Bishop had been spending the night, was after all a downright pagan, and it was impossible to prevail on him to give up his superstitions.

"At Kodamangalam the spiritual fruit was very abundant. The Bishop performed the ceremonies of the Holy Week. The consecration of the Holy Oils, and that of the washing of the feet were most imposing. When the Bishop came to wash the feet of a Cassanar named Simon, who had been his pupil, Simon burst into tears, and the whole church echoed with sobs and groans. Every one remembered the other Simon and Jesus washing his feet. There was also a repository for the most Blessed Sacrament. On the following day the Bishop preached the Passion, and again many shed tears of devotion.

"The bad Christian who had so well received the Bishop was converted while hearing the sermon on the Passion, as well as his wife and his brother, and he at once gave up his superstitious habits.

"The feast of Easter was solemnized with all possible pomp and the festivities lasted several days. The Bishop has done immense good by his visit. His departure caused much grief. He left those good Christians to go to a place where trouble was in store for him.

"A Prince, Vassal of the King of Cochin, hated the Christians, and always spoke disparagingly of our religion. This happened to him in presence of the Bishop, when for a trifle he had a Christian man and a Christian woman severely beaten; nor did he ever consent to make the least apology for this wrong. Upon which the Bishop ordered to shut up the church, and withdrew.

[6] Ernakulam, Arakushey Division.

"Nine months later, this prince so insolent had to yield. He had a sister pregnant of eleven months, and unable to bring forth her child. She was seized with frightful pains, and at the end of three days she fell into a swoon. While in that state, she had a vision. She thought she saw a beautiful Lady dressed in white, accompanied by a Bishop also in white and Priests. The Lady complained that on her account the church had been shut, and threatened her with terrible punishments. Then she told her to enter a boat which she saw before her eyes. This she refused to do. Then two horrible dark figures seized her, and forcibly put her on board that boat; then plying the oars they brought her to the middle of the river, when the vision suddenly disappeared. The woman having come to herself, frightened and exhausted, she related her vision to the bystanders to show them how wrongly they had ill-treated the Christians. She suffered one day longer, and finally gave birth to a still-born child. The news was spread in the country, and it encouraged the Christians, while it terrified the pagans. The King of Cochin ordered the Nair who had ill-treated the two Christians, one of the big men of the village, to be beheaded, and his own Regidor rebuilt the houses of the Christians he had demolished. The Bishop being unable to go in person, designated Father Stephen de Brito to reopen the church.

"At the end of August 1603, the Bishop having to visit the Zamorin on certain State business, availed himself of the opportunity to visit certain churches in the North, where the Christians were very much left to themselves. He came first to Enamaque, but found the Christian bazaar empty, because a Christian had murdered one of the chief inhabitants of the country.

"The Zamorin waited for him at Bemanate, surrounded with quite a royal magnificence. The Bishop was also well attended by Portuguese and Christians. The Zamorin gave to the Bishop, to all the Fathers, and in particular to me, the most cordial welcome. He ordered his officers, when dealing with us, always to treat our affairs so as to give us satisfaction. The Bishop succeeded in his negotiations and withdrew.

"The following fact will show how much the Zamorin was well disposed in our favour. The inhabitants of Palur had

decided to give the Bishop a grand reception. A Nair, prompted by a Moor, cried out that such reception could only be granted to a king. The Zamorin having heard of this report, was very angry, and gave order to put to death the Nair and the Moor, with their wives and children. The Nair being in a place of safety, the Zamorin had the house of the Moor razed to the ground, and sent his nephew and another principal man, to the Bishop as far as Enamaque, to apologise and offer him a Nair as a slave, with these very words: 'The Zamorin offers you this Nair as a slave in satisfaction for certain offending words uttered by a Nair. Had the offense been greater, it is myself, his own nephew, whom he would have offered, with the MANGATE ACHEN the highest personage of his Kingdom.'

"The Nairs of the Zamorin, while waging war against the King of Cochin, accidentally burnt the church of Mathethe, without his knowledge. But as soon as he heard of it, he offered a very advantageous reparation to the Christians. This example was calculated to render the princes around more favourable towards the Christians, and so it happened.

"Thence the Bishop went to Angamalai, and by the advice of the Fathers, he convoked the Diocesan Synod for the beginning of Advent. All the Priests and Delegates of the Villages assembled. The Bishop had translated the Pontifical into Chaldean. On the feast of St. Ambrose (7th December 1603) after having sung the High Mass according to the Syrian rite, he opened the Diocesan Synod, observing all the formalities prescribed by St. Charles Borromeo; all made the profession of faith, with great joy. On the following days everything went on in great order and tranquillity. All that which concerned the spiritual and temporal welfare of this Mission was decreed; and all put their signature to it.

"The Rector of the College (Fr. Stephen De Brito) and another Father were always present at the deliberations of the Synod, and gave their vote first. A general procession ended the Synod.

"The Archbishop availed himself of the presence of all the Christians to settle the question of the money of the ancient Archbishop. Four rebels had taken possession of it. On their account there had been quarrels with pagan kings. After

a protracted resistance, they finally restored that money, which was deposited in the hands of the *Mordom*[7] of the Church. It was a great success, as it put an end to every hope the rebels had entertained of creating a schism in the event of a Nestorian coming from Babylon.

"This year the Bishop built by subscription a church at Cheregate, in honour of the Blessed Virgin.

"There were 29 baptisms of pagans at Vaipicota, 31 at Porcao and 40 at Paliporto."

Vaipicota, *9th January* 1604. — Of Y. P. the unworthy son, JOHN MARY CAMPORI.

(b) *Troubles with the Archdeacon George De Cruz.*—For some years the Archdeacon lived in peace with Don Francis Roz. But the peace was more apparent than real. Under the Chaldean Bishops, the Archdeacons, who, for the most part belonged to the house of George, were the real rulers among the Christians. They settled quarrels, they fought Rajahs (1), they approved those who had to be ordained, they granted dispensations, they made and unmade appointments, so that the *power of jurisdiction* was practically in their hands. The old Bishops, being foreigners, unacquainted with Malayalam and Malayalees, kept the *power of order*, were honoured, received their perquisites, and were satisfied. But an active man like Don Francis Roz, brought up in the traditions of the Western Church, where Bishops rule in their Dioceses, meant to rule in Malabar as well. So Archdeacon George saw his powers curtailed, his influence diminished. He remembered that he had to be Bishop in Malabar, but had been supplanted by this foreigner. At that time, the jurisdictional troubles of the Jesuit Bishop of the Serra with the Franciscan Bishop of Cochin were at their highest.

Archdeacon George took advantage of the situation. He gradually succeeded in enlisting in his favour Don Andre, Bishop of Cochin. Some Cassanars—friends and relations—naturally espoused his cause. The Rajahs of Cochin, of Mangate, and others, it being to their advantage to keep the Christians divided (2) favoured the Archdeacon against his own

[7] Majordomo.

Prelate. He rebelled, and he led into schism several Cassanars. In the light of the above remarks we shall now understand the two following extracts; one from a Report written by Don Francis to Pope Paul V, and the other from a letter of the same to Card. Bellarmin. Writes Don Francis to the Pope:

"The Bishop of Cochin seeing that recourse to arms was out of question, chose another means, no less dangerous and scandalous (in order to prevent the final creation of Cranganore into an Archdiocese). He openly embraced the party of the Archdeacon, then in revolt against his Bishop with four or five Priests. The Archdeacon has been excommunicated by the Archbishop of the Serra, not only because he is a schismatic, and denies the Primacy of the Roman Church, but also because he endeavours to plant the schism in this country by means of a married Armenian, whom he has with him at Mangate, a place subject to a Pagan King. The Bishop of Cochin has sent his Vicar to pay a visit in his name to the King, and beg of him to take the Archdeacon under his protection, assuring him that on this depended the prosperity of the Serra.

"The Inquisition had charged an Augustinian to make an inquiry on the exploits of the Archdeacon. But the Bishop of Cochin threatened him, and forbade him to preach in his Diocese. He also told the Prior of St. Dominic, who sided with the Archbishop, to leave the Diocese. The good man, in anger, sailed for Portugal straightaway. He will bear witness to this and similar disorders."

On the 10th November 1610, Don Francis Roz wrote to Cardinal Bellarmin about the Bishop of Cochin's deeds on the Fishery Coast and at Paliporto. Then he continued: "Our troubles arose not only from our Brother, but also from our children, and in particular, from the Archdeacon, who, nourished with Nestorian milk, had often thought of breaking away from us.

"Last year he laid his serpent's eggs, and brought to light a monster; that is to say, the open schism against the Supreme Pontiff, and his legitimate Pastor. At times I had to dissimulate, at times to tolerate. I reprimanded him, I begged of him, I argued in season and out of season, to bring him back to better feelings, but all in vain.

"The evil grew from day to day. After deep thought and the advice of prudent men, I determined to excommunicate him as a rotten member, and so to deliver him to Satan, for the death of the flesh, and the life of the spirit. But he, counting on the favour of Pagan Princes, proud of the support of Christian brethren, fell into the abyss, and came to despise things, both human and divine. I have denounced him to the Inquisition, as suspect in the faith. The Prior of St. Augustin has examined the witnesses and we wait for the sentence.

"During this persecution the behaviour of the Christians of the Serra has been heroic. Forced by Pagan Princes to communicate with the excommunicated Archdeacon they have endured the loss of their goods, rather than see his face. Many have been in danger of death, and have endured exile. And so we must render thanks to God for having drawn good out of evil."

Fr. Francis Pero, who had succeeded to Fr. Laerzio as Provincial in Malabar, after months of tactful negotiations, brought about peace between the Bishop of the Serra, and the Bishop of Cochin. Thus the Archdeacon lost his most powerful auxiliary. In fact, Don Andre of Cochin had the names of the Archdeacon's partisans read in the Cathedral, and he excommunicated those who attended feasts in Churches subject to the Archdeacon. George felt that his position had weakened considerably. Further, during the war between Calicut and Cochin, the Rajah of Cochin had recourse to Don Francis Roz, to obtain through him help and money from the Portuguese. Hence, knowing that there was opposition between the Archbishop and the Archdeacon, he expelled the latter from his dominions and saw to it that all the churches should be given back to the Archbishop. Since then the Christians began to breathe again, and Don Francis Roz again resumed his pastoral visits. All hoped that the Archdeacon would then be obliged to submit. But their hopes were disappointed. The Zamorin died, the war came to a halt, and the Rajah of Cochin found it advantageous to perpetuate the divisions, and the submission did not take place.

Finally, the Annual Letter of 1615 informs us that the Portuguese concluded peace with the Rajah of Parur, who had been a warm supporter of the Archdeacon. The Portuguese

insisted that he should withdraw his support from the latter. Then, on Easter Sunday, 1615, the Archdeacon submitted, and was absolved from the Excommunication *cum verberatione*.

He then wrote to Fr. Vittelleschi (3rd December 1615), expressing the most wonderful sentiments of gratitude to the Society, for the work done among the Thomas Christians. We give the letter in the Notes and Documents. (3)

(c) *The Second Rebellion.*—Was he sincere? It is difficult to say. Perhaps he was, at the time in which he wrote the letter. But certain things are not easily forgotten. They may seem dead, but then, when opportunity arises, they flare up again. Later on we shall speak of the warm support which Bishop Roz ever gave to Fr. De Nobili. When a meeting was arranged at Goa to judge of the new methods introduced in the Mission Field by the great Italian, the Archbishop of the Serra, though old and infirm, could not refrain from going to the Portuguese capital in order to defend his friend (1618). But then he did not entrust the government of the Diocese to the Archdeacon. George felt that as a personal affront and rebelled again (1620). Naturally, the discontented followed him.

After the previous experience, Don Francis Roz must have been terribly upset by the new revolt. As times went, it was easy for a Portuguese Prelate in India to enlist the help of Government to suppress a rebellion, which not only did harm to the souls, but spread discontent, and broke civil peace. Perhaps he exceeded in this. At any rate that was the opinion of several Fathers.

Among others Fr. Fenicio, who had left Calicut, and was again at St. Andrew's, wrote to Fr. Joao Maria Campori, blaming the Archbishop for making use of the secular arm, and pleading for mercy. God, he says, came down on Mount Sinai with thunder and storm; but he did not redeem us.

He quotes the words of St. J. Chrisostom: *"Tonuit et non salvavit, vagiit et salvavit"*. The good Father insists on meekness, giving the words of the Gospel: *Calamum quassatum non conteret, linum fumigans non extinguet.* The Archbishop, he thinks, is too violent, and with violence nothing will be done. He relies too much on material means, while the spiritual means were preferred by Christ and his Apostles. The good Father bewails the state of the Christian flock, for whom the Sacraments are not administered, or are null and void. He is cut to the heart by the schism fostered by the Archdeacon. Yet he cannot entirely approve of the conduct of the Archbishop. He says: "I admire and venerate him, his doctrine, his sanctity, the example he gives to all; *sed in hoc non laudo.*" Then the Father feels aggrieved for the Society. People, he says, sneer at us. This Diocese, they say, is the worst governed in India. The Thomas Priests do not want the Jesuits in their Parishes. They have sworn that they will never again submit to a Jesuit Bishop. *Foetet jam odor Societatis coram istis.* Letters are sent to Europe, to the King, against the Society.

The Archbishop then must be spoken to *"Ne simus canes muti, et dicamus pax, cum non sit pax"*. Fr. Fenicio speaks because he feels that the honour of the Society—whose child he is—is at stake; because the honour of the Archbishop—whose servant he is—is compromised. He will pray. During Mass he will remember the Archbishop *Nominatim.*

In this letter we do not know what to admire most: the meekness of the experienced Missionary, who knows his Malayalees, who is sure that nothing can be got from them by violence, everything by kindness; the outspokenness of an old man, who loves the Archbishop dearly, who has worked with him and for him, and yet he is not afraid to blame him; the great love he has for the Society, which he sees undeservedly blamed, for the policy of one of her sons. Scarcely one month had passed from the writing of the first letter about the rebellion to Fr. Campori. The Father, who sided with the Archbishop, and approved of his policy towards George, answered to Fr. Fenicio, disapproving of his suggestions.

Hence Fr. Fenicio writes again (February 1621) a very long letter, which we shall summarize here.

The main point in the letter is, that it is lawful and proper that the Archbishop should unite and reconcile himself with the Archdeacon. Fr. Joao Maria would certainly maintain that it is not lawful, because the Archdeacon is a Nestorian, who receives heretics, who usurps the episcopal dignity, who sins against the Holy Ghost, who would not allow the Society

to work in the Serra, who would gladly destroy the Seminary of Vaipicota, who seeks money and not the good of souls. But Fr. Fenicio is not deterred by all this array of accusations and uses an argument—as he rightly calls it—*a majori ad minus*. If Archbishop Menezes reconciled heretics in the Council of Diamper, if the Council of Trent showed much eagerness to conciliate the Protestants, if the Pope himself received the King of France, why should it be unlawful for the Archbishop to be united again with the Archdeacon? But this is not only lawful, it is proper and expedient. It is expedient if the spiritual good of the Serra is taken into account, for, if the Archdeacon's rebellion is stopped, all the rebellious priests will cease from their sacrilegious ministrations, and the Sacraments, which are now null and void, will be validated. Well, might answer Fr. Campori, these things will stop some day; we need not be in a hurry, for before God "*Mille anni sunt tamquam dies hesterna quae praeteriit*" to which the zealous Fenicio rejoins:—"Say rather: '*Dies una tamquam mille anni sunt*' on account of the sins that are multiplied". Again, the reconciliation is expedient if the temporal good of the Serra is considered, because, if Archbishop and Archdeacon are united, the Christians need fear no earthly combination of pagan Kinglets against them. Peace is expedient on the part of the Archbishop, because then all will be obedient unto him. It is expedient on the part of the Archdeacon, who will thereby provide to the good of his own soul. And here the good Father cannot help quoting St. Luke XV, where our Lord speaks so movingly of the lost groat, to find which the poor woman lights the lamp and sweeps the house, and looks carefully in every nook and corner.

But Fr. Campori may again object:—"Suppose the reconciliation takes place. Shall we have real peace? No. It will be only apparent; there will still be hidden war. And surely we prefer open war to underhand opposition." Good Fr. Fenicio knows that the objection is only too true, but he does not give in.

He answers that the real evils will still be less in hidden war than in open enmity. Sacrileges will not be so numerous, the welfare of souls will be better looked after. Then follow two more counter-arguments: The Archdeacon will not govern well, and if the Government of the Diocese is passed on to him, the Archbishop will be little better than a statue. Fr. Fenicio's answer is obvious: Let the most important matters be still in the Archbishop's hands; the rest in the Archdeacon's. That is what Moses did in the Old Testament. It is true that the Archbishop has many gifts; but for all that, he cannot be everywhere, he cannot do everything himself; he needs the help of others. *Non omnes apostoli non omnes doctores*. Further the Archbishop is too fond of using the secular arm. That will not do. That is not the spirit of Christ, who rebuked his Apostles with the famous '*Nescitis cujus spiritus estis*'.

Then the letter speaks of the great good done by Fr. Joao Maria and by the whole Society for the Serra, answering, perhaps a tacit accusation that Fr. Fenicio might think himself the only one who had worked for the Thomas Christians. He answers also another personal accusation (that perhaps he thought too much of his oratorical powers), to the effect that he never worked as a preacher, except when holy obedience told him to do so, and that he always endeavoured to avoid the rebuke of St. Bernard, who, when speaking of certain preachers says that '*Omnes volunt esse canales, nemo concha*'. But Fr. Joao had something else up his sleeve; he really thought that in these regrettable quarrels Fr. Fenicio often allowed himself to be deceived, for he was too good and too simple. The writer would gladly pass by this remark, yet that truth may have its due, he will answer, even though by doing so he will have to praise himself. For nineteen years he has lived on the West Coast, has dealt with Kings and Princes, has succeeded in keeping them quiet and at peace, without being deceived by them. For eighteen years he has been in Calicut and has succeeded in maintaining the peace between the Zamorin and the Portuguese, and though he often asked the Superiors to remove him from such offices, they never listened to him, and were satisfied with his work. And often from Calicut did he go to Cranganore comforting the Portuguese and the Raja of Cranganore, when there was war. And Fr. Joao Maria ought to remember how one night he succeeded in bringing about peace between the Raja of Paru and the Capitao Mor, who was ready with his armies, and nobody could do anything. *Soli Deo honor et gloria qui elegit infirma; fortia*

quaeque confundat (Sic). *Insipienter egi, sed reverentia vestra me coegit ut insipienter dicam*—and if he were granted but two months to go to the Serra, he would pacify it and bring the Archdeacon to the feet of the Archbishop: and then he would hasten to hide himself in his little St. Andrew's. He was not sorry that the Father had shown his previous letter to the Archbishop, for he does not like to act under disguise, and what he says in his room he cares not if it be proclaimed from the housetops.

So far Fr. Fenicio in a letter, which shows the beautiful character of the famous Missionary under a new light and which reveals the tremendous difficulties Archbishop Roz was confronted with. The Father, however, did not deny the faults of the Archdeacon, his heretical and schismatical tendencies. He only pleaded for greater mercy. But Don Francis had been merciful. He had treated him with kindness. All in vain. He had schism in the blood.

In a letter of December 1622, Don Francis says that in the 39 years he has known the Archdeacon, he has not changed. He was in revolt before 1619. Supported by the Rajah of Cochin and various Kinglets, he defies everybody. His favourite arms are wine-casks. Like his predecessors he has delivered some Christians to the King of Cochin and others, for imaginary faults. So the King of Cochin was asked to get rid of this imposter; but he answered that he was his treasure, for, whenever he pleased, he got presents from him. Mar Abraham had no confidence in him.

The Franciscans and Dominicans, who at first had favoured him, have ended by giving him up. He has in his favour about one-third of the Christians. The elders of the Serra told Don Francis not to mind the Archdeacon, and never to follow his way of thinking. He has always found it good to have acted contrary to the opinion of the Archdeacon.

One of his last exploits was to write and put up a paper where he said:

(a) that the Archbishop had paid large sums to the Malabars to get him murdered;

(b) that he had got an Ecclesiastic of the Serra wounded by a spear;

(c) that the Jesuits in the Serra were doing things which for the honour of Religion it was better to keep dark;

(*d*) that there have never been heresies in the Serra.

The Archbishop asked him to prove these assertions. He refused.

"As to the fourth point; it is false. Witness the Council of Diamper, where he abjured his heresies, and where he shed tears, when Menezes made him take away from the office the name of Mar Simon, a Nestorian heretic, which they mentioned twice a day. Every year he was celebrating the office of Nestorious and his Companions, first in public, then secretly. The Archbishop tore this office from the Breviary of Mar Abraham in Goa, while he was asleep. Yes, certainly, both before him, and in his time, more than one heresy has been professed in the Serra.

"Such is the personage who will never cease to oppose the Fathers of the Society among the Thomas Christians, because he sees in them the Champions of the Church of Rome, and the adversaries of the Babylonian Prelates, for whom there is in Malabar such a pronounced leaning."—So far the Archbishop.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

[1] "Why the Rajahs should desire divisions among the Christians is clear from what happened some years ago. Then a Cattanar was killed by the Moors of Cochin. The Archdeacon—who loved the Cattanar—decided to avenge him. Being then on good terms with the Archbishop, he succeeded in gathering over 10,000 well-armed Christians. After receiving Holy Communion, they started for Changancherry, attacked the enemy, of whom they killed and wounded a great number. After this victory all the Rajahs here have understood how necessary it is for them to keep the Christians divided." (*From a letter of Fr. Provincial Francis Pero, November 1612.*)

[2] "For it is advantageous to the Rajah to keep the Christians divided. In fact, the Christians are excellent soldiers, superior even to the Nayars of the Rajah. Hence the Rajah's efforts to keep them separated from their legitimate Pastor.

A second reason, which is well understood by these Kinglets, is the following: The Archbishop resents all tyranny and injustice against the Christians, and demands an account for it. It was not so with the Chaldean Bishops who rather joined the Rajahs in shearing their sheep." (*From the same letter.*)

[3] George da Cruz *alias* Palamattan *alias* de Campos, Archdeacon of the St. Thomas Christians to V. R. Fr. Mutius Vitelleschi, Superior-General of the Society of Jesus.

The Serra,
3rd December 1615.

These last years Your Reverence must have received unpleasant news about me which will have caused you pain and displeasure. I hope, however, that this year's news will compensate for past sorrow by the great pleasure you will feel on hearing it.

Trusting in the affection which Your Reverence and your holy Society bear to this Church and to me, your child, I shall tell Your Reverence how the Fathers endeavoured to procure me the greatest good, by securing the success of their enterprise, God Our Lord having put an end to so great an evil and given rise to so much good in this Church.

This year (1615) shortly before the Holy Week, all the Christians of this St. Thomas Mission and all the priests gathered together and came to me at Mangate. After a few days when I had exposed to them all my grievances, they negotiated with the Lord Metran and God gave me the grace to come to my senses, through the ministry of Fr. Stephen de Brito, whom I had earnestly requested to come and see me as I knew the real love he had always had for me. He had always done me good and given me peace of mind. He came and took me to Chanota, where I made my submission to my Prelate and asked his pardon for all my errors, and absolution from Excommunication. The Metran has the bowels of a father, he received me with kindness and gentleness and as a true shepherd forgot all I had done against him. I am now exercising my office. Next he summoned other Cassanars and Christians likewise excommunicated. His Lordships forgave them all and gave them the absolution. Then we set about revalidating marriages which, having been blessed by illegitimate Vicars, were null and void. Some of them were rectified and we are still busy with the rest. Order has been restored. His Lordship has also appointed Vicars who start by being Curates in their churches, so that already everything is well, thanks be to God. With that object in view I work with all my might.

The merit of that good work is, next to God, due to your Fathers. It is incredible how hard they have been working ever since they came to live among us.

God forgave him who was the cause of all these troubles. For they were bound as Religious to smooth them down and set us a good example.

I have only to pray Your Reverence to remember me before God and all this Christian Community in your holy prayers. Pray to God Our Lord to preserve and increase this union and friendship. Be kind enough to look on me hereafter, and in a

special manner, as your own son, since both myself and this Church are glad to recognise all the good that the Fathers of the Holy Society have done to us. That good of our souls they have procured by dint of love and charity.

We hope great progress will be made since the King of Cochin has joined the Fathers. He is very much changed from what he used to be. He has become our friend, and favours us. The Fathers are held in great affection by him.

I have but one regret and great sorrow, which I cannot but communicate to Your Reverence. Fr. Stephen de Brito is my old friend. We know each other, and we have governed this Church in perfect agreement; often I had recourse to his prudent advice. When D. Frey Alexis, the Archbishop, came to visit this Church, he did me the favour of giving him to me as a companion, and it was not without reason, for he was known and loved by all this people on account of his incredible gentleness. Now your Fathers have taken him away from us to make him Rector of Cochin. Your Reverence was always a Father to this Christian Community, we are under your protection, therefore be good enough to set this right and do us the favour of restoring this Father to us. I ask him from you in the name of all the Christians who deeply regret his absence. Although the Lord Metran has insisted as much as he could with the Provincial, I cannot fail to make the same request to Your Reverence for this Father's labours among us.

It is a cause of regret among us to see that he and the Fathers Francis Fernandes, and John Mary (Campori), who have worked here longest, who are known to us, who understand us, because they know our language, and are acquainted with our customs, are liable to be taken away from us at a moment's notice. Your Reverence must know that it is the greatest evil that may happen to this Church. I cannot adequately express my regret, nor say how deeply the Christians deplore the absence of Fr. Stephen de Brito. But I do hope in Our Lord that Your Reverence will hear our prayer and remedy this state of things.

There only remains for me to beg of Your Reverence to be, when the occasion arises, our support with the Sovereign Pontiff, Father and head of the St. Thomas Church, and not to fail in recommending with all your influence the petitions of Our Metran, for I am sure that with Your Reverence's favour we shall be greatly helped and favoured by His Holiness.

I beg of Your Reverence to bless me, Your unworthy son, and I pray Our Lord to make your administration prosperous, and the Holy Society of Jesus flourishing.

I am kissing your sacred hands.

Your Reverence's most obedient child
(Signature in Syriac)
George Archdeacon of the Serra.

CHAPTER XI

THE FIRST LATIN BISHOP OF THE THOMAS CHRISTIANS: DON FRANCIS ROZ, S.J.

(1601–1624)

B. HIS RELATIONS WITH THE BISHOP OF COCHIN

1. Introductory

In the preceeding chapter we have described the work of Don Francis Roz for the Thomas Christians, his Missions among them, his endeavours to keep them united with their pastor, against the schismatical tendencies of the Archdeacon George De Cruz.

Now we shall speak of his relations with Frey Andre of Santa Maria, Bishop of Cochin (1588–1615). The Bishop belonged to the Order of the Recollects of St. Francis. In the beginning of his Episcopate, and for several years afterwards, he was a great friend of the Jesuits. In fact, we read in a letter of Fr. Laerzio to Aquaviva (1604) the following: "The Bishop of Cochin, Don Andre, has been very pleased with the letter which he has received from your Paternity. This Prelate treats the things of the Society with so much honour, he has done, and still does, to us so many favours, he shows such confidence in our Fathers, that he deserves that your Paternity should thank him many a time. In particular, we should show our gratitude to him for all he has had to suffer this year on the part of the Friars of St. Francis, who have much persecuted him only because he has introduced the Fathers of the Society in Ceylon. They have gone so far as to decide in their Chapter to forbid him to enter their houses and convents, and have used very queer means to make him desist from his plans.

"But, he, being a good Prelate, makes little of whatever they may say or do, provided his conscience does not reproach him, and provided he can help the sheep that have been entrusted to his care.

"That is why this year, before the rising in Ceylon, in spite of the Friars, who were strongly opposed, he divided Ceylon into two parts, starting from the Caimel river, and entrusted the northern part, which faces the Fishery Coast to the Society, which for us is more convenient. The South is in charge of the Friars. This year the Bishop has written to the Pope, giving him an account of the State of his Diocese, and telling him with what zeal the Fathers of the Society work for the salvation of souls. He was very desirous that the letter should reach the Pope, and that it should be answered. Knowing how difficult it is to get an answer from Rome, he would be very grateful if we could obtain it for him." But these friendly relations were not to last. We shall endeavour to relate as briefly and as objectively as possible the sad events which led to the interminable enmities between the Bishop of Cochin on the one hand, and Don Francis Roz and the Society on the other. The main cause of the enmity between the two Bishops was the transfer of the See of the Serra from Angamale to Cranganore, while the cause of the prolonged fight with the Society was the claim for jurisdiction on the Fishery Coast.

Both causes, however, were obscured by petty incidents, which seem small to us, who are so far removed from the struggle, but which assumed alarming proportions before the eyes of the combatants themselves. The main protagonists in the double drama were Bishop Roz and Fr. Laerzio on the one side, and Frey Andre de Santa Maria on the other.

Let us start from the struggle between the two Bishops. We have seen in the preceding chapter how the Cassanars resented the lowering of the Archdiocese of Angamalé to the rank of Diocese. Bishop Roz promised that he would inform the Pope about it, and the Diocese would again be given its higher status.

Further, he found that Angamale was unsafe, because it was exposed to invasion on the part of warring Rajahs. Therefore he pleaded that his See should be transferred to the Fortress of Cranganore (1), where the Pastor of the Serra would be under Portuguese protection.

Both requests were granted.

In a report of Archbishop Roz to the Pope (1609) we read: "On the request of His Catholic Majesty Your Holiness had granted to the Archbishop of Cranganore to transfer his Cathedral and his residence from Angamale to Cranganore, because the latter place is safer and more convenient. The Archbishop of Goa had signed an appeal to this effect, and the Bishop of Cochin (Frey Andre) had given his consent. But in the interval between the petition and the coming of Your Holiness's Brief the situation between the Bishop of Cochin and that of Angamale had altered. That is why the Bishop of Cochin opposed the Brief, alleging it to have been surreptitiously obtained." What had happened to make the Bishop of Cochin change his mind? The reasons are found in several letters. We shall quote from a letter of Don Francis Roz to Fr. Alvarez, Assistant to Fr. General for Portugal, where the matter is treated in detail.

2. Bishop *vs.* Bishop

Writes Don Francis Roz: "I do not know how to explain to Your Reverence the persecutions, which by God's permission this Province of the South is subjected to. And it is not Pagans or Heathens who attack us, but Christians and Religious. The chief persecutor is none other than the Bishop of Cochin, in return, no doubt, for the numerous services which the Society has done to His Lordship these many years past. One would say that the devil has become a monk to destroy this new Christianity: not only the new converts, but also the old St. Thomas Christians of our Diocese. He seems resolved to ruin them all.

"The first cause of all this trouble was a Captain of Cranganore, by name John Gomes, a vile blackguard, who was guilty of an awful villany towards one of our Fathers (Fr. Domingo de Abreu) in the presence of many infidels. The fact was reported to the Bishop of Cochin. But the culprit refused to apologise. By the advice of the same Lord Bishop Fr. Domingo chose as judge a Canon of the Cathedral of Cochin, whom His Lordship designated in writing ordering him to fulfil his duty under pain of excommunication. The Canon then declared the Captain excommunicated. Thereupon the Bishop was much displeased, for the rascal was a compatriot

of his, and in certain things which he had committed against the Fathers, the Bishop had abetted him underhand. Hence the Bishop ordered the Canon to be imprisoned. But the poor man ran away and hid himself in the jungles of the territory of a heathen Rajah. It was in vain that the Captain of Cochin and myself pleaded strongly with the Bishop. He would not listen. His anger did not abate. His clerics said Mass every day for the excommunicated Captain who, against his custom, had begun to frequent the Sacraments. God allowed him to fall into other sins, till the Ministers of Justice got him out of Cranganore."

The second cause of the trouble is thus described by Don Francis in the same letter: "The Vicar of Cranganore, son of a Bengalee slave, (having been ordained by His Lordship, God knows with what informations, for he knows no Latin, and his conduct is far from being irreproachable), now, this Ecclesiastic, and with him the Friars of St. Francis began to enter my Diocese, and to cause such disorders, that they perverted the Archdeacon, and from intimate friend, they made him my enemy. Without my permission, or that of my Vicars, he (the Vicar of Cranganore) exercised the office of Parish Priest in my own territory. I bore it all. Many a time did I warn the Bishop of Cochin. But, since His Lordship was the instigator of all this interference, he took care not to stop it. Things went from bad to worse. After taking the advice of the Archbishop of Goa and of other people, who thought I was weak and negligent, I had to put under arrest the said Vicar of Cranganore, whilst he was in my territory, in the house of one of my Ecclesiastics, who was his accomplice in all his misdeeds. I took him to my own house in Vaipicota. But he was removed by force, by order of the Bishop of Cochin, by the miscreant of whom I have spoken above, and who had been excommunicated for having insulted one of our Fathers. The Fathers of St. Francis also were present, in arms (sic). (Everything is juridically proved by documents which I have sent to the court of Lisbon.) He was taken away under the eyes of all the Pagans, Jews and Moors, who were present. There were also a few St. Thomas Christians, but without arms. I was in the house with a Father of the Society; but neither he nor I wished to come out.

"The Bishop was full of joy. I resolved to go to Goa. I was already on board, when the Fathers of St. Francis and the unworthy Vicar, without the least shame, came up by my side. I endured this affront, as if it was not directed against me. Having reached Goa, I acquainted the Archbishop with everything, for he was already Governor of the State. I thought he was very weak; for he declared publicly that he was afraid of the Bishop of Cochin. In vain did I beg of him to put under arrest the said Vicar. He always refused to give the order, though the Lawyers about him told him that he was bound to. Thanks to this cowardly behaviour the Vicar at times walks about Goa, at times he keeps himself hidden in the Convent of St. Francis.

"As to the Captain of Cranganore, the judges of the RELASAO cited him to appear before them in Goa. Strong of the support of the Bishop, he openly revolted, and refused to leave Cochin. Finally he left but dared not enter Goa. We are afraid that the Friars and the Bishop will circumvent the Archbishop, and that justice will not be done.

"As to myself, I returned covered with confusion. The Bishop of Cochin, being unable to calm his fury against me, and believing that the Fathers sided with me (and in this matter I have to complain very strongly of them, for they have abandoned me) turned against them.

"The occasion was too good for the Friars not to turn against us. From that day he refused to see the Fathers, and tried by force of arms to take from them all the Churches of the Missions."

In another letter of the Archbishop to Fr. Aquaviva (15th December 1611) we read: "I have received with all the esteem I could, if not with all that I ought, the letter of Your Paternity, which has been written with a heart as good as yours. I should like to imprint it in my heart, if, through the divine goodness I was worthy of such a favour. I trust in God's mercy that, through the prayers of Your Paternity, your letter will sustain me in these troubled times, in these days filled up with so many and long trials, that, if they were changed for me into merit, without any mixture of sin or fault on my part, they would become a subject of

great consolation. But I do not know, whether my works are pleasing to God Our Lord. My dearest and most reverend Father of my soul, I do not know what great desire for your prayers I feel when writing this letter, in order that God may give me patience and receive this sinful soul.

"The insults and affronts committed against the Church of Rome by her own children cannot be related without rousing pity. The Bishop of Cochin and some of his Friars have not permitted the Archdeacon to return to obedience, knowing that thus I would be pained.

"He was not wrong. I had immense sorrow that God was offended. The Inquisitors of Goa, who know the Bishop, refuse to interfere.

"Then we are deprived of all help. At this juncture arrived the Bishop of Malacca (Don Estevao de Sa), destined to succeed Menezes of Goa.

"But the Bishop of Cochin, even before he arrived, by means of letters brought him round to his way of thinking against the Society and against me.

"Upon reaching Cochin he went and stayed with the Bishop, and, beyond an official visit which we exchanged, it was not possible for me, however much I begged, to get an audience, of even half a quarter of an hour, to speak to him of my affairs. He made a present to the Bishop of a most precious ring, and, in return he got an attestation that he was entirely fit for the primatial dignity, to which the King had designated him. At the request of the Bishop of Cochin, Malacca gave him a certificate wherein he declared that the Bishop of Cochin did not favour the Archdeacon, which is contrary to public and notorious facts.

"Behold the behaviour of Bishops created by His Holiness and chosen by the King without examination.

"That is why they come to India. They bring good, sounding money to India, and deceive both King and Pope.

"There are also some Friars who go to Europe with some thousand pardaos, in order to come back with a mitre, and cause the ruin of the East. With Bishops as ignorant as they are, and above all, contrary to the privileges of the Religious, towards whom they are very ill-disposed, what can we do? The Bishops of Mylapore, Malacca and Cochin are

of one mind against the Society. They are not animated by the spirit of God, but of the devil.

"One may say that the intention excuses them. But is it entirely good? . . .

"It is thirty years that I am among the Christians of Saint Thomas, and know what they need. I beg then Your Paternity, by the fearful judgment of God, not to allow any other Bishop to enter this Mission, who is not of the Society, because the Monk Bishops are conspiring against her, and wish to expel her from the Missions. If the Society is expelled from here Your Reverence may rest assured that schism and heresy will be established again here, because they do not endeavour to learn the languages, and to accommodate themselves to the customs of the country. They will have money and grand ceremonies, but the souls will perish.

"This is an old Christianity, which has its own Clergy. It does not give much work to the Society. Our Fathers have only to preach and hear confessions.

"It is to be feared that if another Bishop was in charge of these Christians, who for more than thirty years have been accustomed to Ours, the Monks never having come to preach or hear confessions, it is to be feared, I say, that all will fall again into confusion.

"For one should not forget that they are Orientals, that is to say naturally restless and fond of novelties. The Society seeks sufferings. I am convinced that here she will find them more dry (*Secar*) than in Japan or in the Moluccas."

3. Bishop *vs.* Jesuits

But let us now turn to the Fishery Coast and endeavour to describe the causes of the struggle which went on there for many years, had its repercussions in the relations between Bishop and Bishop, and forms a most disgraceful interlude in the History of the Catholic Missions in India.

Owing to the constant dangers to which the Fathers and the Christians on the Fishery Coast were exposed from local Rajahs and from the Nayks of Madura the Provincial of Malabar, Fr. Laerzio, decided to build a shelter on a little

island, near Tuticorin where missionaries and people could withdraw when attacked.

In 1606 a Portuguese vessel was shipwrecked near the island. The Fathers and the Paravars salvaged most of the goods, and the grateful Portuguese promised the fishermen one-fourth of what had been rescued.

The Nayk of Madura, having heard of it, and according to the custom of the place claiming the property of the ship-wrecked vessel and its contents, threatened the Paravars with extermination unless they paid him 500,000 crusados.

They refused and then his army marched against them, but in vain. The war lasted two months. Then he withdrew in order to attend the nuptials of his son, but threatened to come again.

It was in these circumstances that the Bishop of Cochin, believing that the withdrawl to the island was but a cunning device to escape from his jurisdiction, gave the order to the Fathers and the Paravars to leave the island and return to the mainland.

The *Patangatins* or representatives of the people, endeavoured to make him understand that, if they obeyed, they would perish at the hands of the Nayk.

Further, they claimed a right to choose their own dwelling places independently of the Bishop.

The Bishop, suspecting more than ever that their stay on the island was but a dodge to escape his own jurisdiction, threatened them with heavy penalties, and resolved, unless they obeyed, to withdraw the Fathers from the Fishery Coast.

But the Jesuits claimed that they derived their jurisdiction from the King of Portugal, and not from the Bishop. Nothing was more calculated to enrage him. He despatched a document, wherein sentence of excommunication was pronounced against Tuticorin.

But the document was intercepted by the Fathers, who maintained that the excommunication was null and void. Thereupon Augustinians and Franciscans rose against the Jesuits everywhere, calling them disobedient, heretical, usurpers. Thus a Franciscan, preaching at the Cathedral of Mylapore, directed his tirades against the Jesuits. The latter sent a protest in writing to the Vicar. But the Vicar tied their protest

to the tail of dog and chased him round the town. A Spanish Capuchin, with a rope round his neck, went about exhorting the people to pray for the Jesuits, who were in danger of perversion.

Fr. De Nobili wrote to his uncle Cardinal Bellarmin, asking him to obtain a Nuncio from His Holiness, to put a stop to the scandal. He speaks of the great precautions he had to take in order to prevent his letters from falling into the hands of the Bishop.

Meanwhile the Portuguese, who, when they were shipwrecked, had promised the Paravars one-fourth of the salvaged goods, found now that the sum was exhorbitant.

The Fathers, however, pleaded in favour of the Paravars, and insisted on the fulfilment of the contract, which the Portuguese had signed.

At that time the Dutch were beginning to harass the Portuguese, and the Governor of Goa who was now Archbishop Menezes, needed money for the fleet. Those interested in the matter, offered him the 30,000 crusados due to the Paravars.

Naturally the Paravars objected and so did the Fathers.

But finally Fr. Laerzio succeeded in persuading the fishermen to forego 10,000 crusados in favour of Government. The Archbishop was satisfied and signed a declaration wherein he acquitted the Paravars from further obligations.

But the trouble with the Bishop was not so easily mended.

We have seen how, in order to assert his jurisdiction, he had pronounced sentence of excommunication on the Christians of the Fishery Coast, unless they gave up their island shelter.

Now he decided to install two secular priests as his own Vicars at Punical and at Manapad.

The Provincial opposed the measure, maintained that the two places did not depend on the Bishop and wrote he would rather give up the Jesuits Churches on the Fishery Coast.

The Bishop retorted that since the Jesuits dwelt on the island, the mainland Christians were abandoned. The Provincial denied the charge, and answered that the Christians were regularly visited and ministered unto by the Fathers.

The Bishop cut the knot by sending Fr. Manoel Delvas, who—strange to say—was to reside on the island, not on the

mainland. The arrangement was certainly provoking, and the Fathers, of course, protested.

The Government of Goa and the Tribunal of the *Relasao* acknowledged the claim of the Fathers, that their jurisdiction came from the King and not from the Bishop, but that did not end the quarrel.

As a matter of fact the trouble grew worse owing to the change of the title of Bishop of Angamale to that of Archbishop of Cranganore, which the Holy See granted to the Prelate Francis Roz of the Society of Jesus.

Frey Andre of Santa Maria, Bishop of Cochin, regarded the arrangement as an encroachment on his rights, and opposed it.

Further, as we have seen, he grew indignant at the Archbishop of Cranganore's excommunicating the Captain of Cranganore, who was a personal friend of Frey Andre. Of course, the disgruntled Prelate saw everywhere the hidden hand of the Jesuits, though in his letters to Fr. Aquaviva Archbishop Roz complained that the Jesuits did not give him the support he expected of them.

4. The Paliporto Dispute

Paliporto was a place where both the Archbishop of Cranganore and the Bishop of Cochin claimed jurisdiction. The quarrel was still *sub judice*. Meanwhile Fr. Domingo de Abreu had the care of the Christians.

One day a Portuguese, who had escaped to Paliporto, was arrested there by order of the Bishop of Cochin. Fr. De Abreu protested because, as he thought, the Bishop had no jurisdiction at Paliporto. The Bishop resented this very strongly.

Further, John Gomez, Captain of Cranganore, and a great friend of the Bishop, wanted to place under arrest some fishermen of Paliporto.

The Father took their defence. But Gomez arrested the Father, and insulted him otherwise.

The Bishop congratulated him.

Then Fr. Schipani—Rector of Cochin—proceeded legally against Gomez, who was openly defended by the Bishop.

The Provincial—Fr. Laerzio—who was away at Tuticorin, wrote to Fr. Schipani to give in, for it would not do to alienate

the Bishop, who had favoured the Society in so many ways: and he wrote to the Bishop as well.

The Rector obeyed, but Bishop Roz disapproved of the Provincial's action; in fact, he went further, as we have already written, and had the Vicar of Cranganore, Pedro Affonso, arrested.

Thereupon Frey Andre of Cochin could not contain his displeasure, and refused to receive a letter from Bishop Roz, where the latter explained his action, and complained that the Bishop had refused to punish Affonso for his misdeeds.

The Franciscans sided with Frey Andre, and assisted John Gomez in delivering Pedro Affonso from captivity.

Persuaded that if Bishop Roz acted in this manner, it was the Jesuits who abetted and encouraged him, the Bishop of Cochin declared that he would not leave them a single Church either on the Fishery Coast or at Manar.

At this juncture Fr. Laerzio returned to Cochin, and the Bishop thought that, perhaps, he would succeed in bringing about a reconciliation. But either the Provincial did not see his way in the matter, or he encountered strong opposition from Bishop Roz. The fact is that no peace was achieved.

Then Frey Andre forbade the Jesuits to preach in his Diocese and established a cathedral school with a view to take the students away from our college.

5. Further Troubles

We have already pointed out, there were two main reasons for the quarrel between the Bishop of Cochin and the Jesuits. The first was the jurisdiction dispute with Bishop Roz, the second the jurisdiction trouble on the Fishery Coast.

The first was complicated by the incidents with Gomez, the Captain of Cranganore, with Pedro Affonso, the Vicar, and with Fr. De Abreu at Paliporto.

The second arose from the withdrawl of several Fathers to the King's Island, opposite Tuticorin, from the refusal of the Christians to abandon the island at the command of the Bishop, and from the denial, on the part of the Fathers, of the Bishop's jurisidiction on the Fishery Coast. They claimed jurisdiction from the King, as head of the Order of Christ, and their claim was upheld by the Court at Goa.

We have related how the Bishop sent the Franciscan Frey Manuel Delvas to Tuticorin as his Vicar both in ecclesiastical and temporal matters, with the injunction to live on the island of the Kings.

Fr. Rector there opposed him, and so did the Christians, who were exasperated by the Bishop's order to return to the mainland, and thus expose themselves to the predatory vexations of Pagan Rajahs. To increase the confusion, there arose a dispute among the Fathers and the Christians, or rather between the Rector, Fr. John da Costa, and two influential men among the Christians. Upon Fr. Levi's advice, the Rector expelled them from the island. They, of course, brought their complaints to Cochin.

The Bishop, already exasperated by the refusal to accept his Vicar, retaliated against the Paravars, and ordered all their boats to be seized at Manar, Jaffna, San Thome and Negapatam. More than thirty boats were seized.

He then freed from prison some priests, who were suspended, and gave them as companions to Frey Nicholas and to Fr. Rodrigo Pimentel, who had been expelled from the Society, with orders to go to the Fishery Coast, and take away all the churches from the Fathers, putting these ex-convicts in their place.

6. Representations at Goa

When Frey Nicholas and his associates arrived to take possession of the churches on the Fishery Coast, they met with opposition from the Christians. They had recourse to force, but blows were met with blows, and there were wounded and dead on both sides. Of course, the Fathers were accused of being the chief instigators, and the accusations were brought to Goa.

Fr. Almeida was deputed to defend them in Goa, and Fr. Spinola was to proceed to Spain to acquaint the Government of all the trouble.

In Goa the Supreme Court passed a *Tuitiva*, by which the Fathers were confirmed in possession of the churches, and the Bishop was forbidden to use violence. His jurisdiction, however, was acknowledged, and he was granted leave to put on the Coast as many Vicars as he pleased.

Frs. Spinola and Vaz opposed the decision; but Fr. Nicholas Pimenta and all the Frs. from Goa maintained that the Bishop had a right to nominate his Vicars on the Fishery Coast.

The Supreme Court acknowledged the validity of the arguments adduced by Fr. Spinola. Thereupon the Archbishop was much vexed, and from that time he sided with Frey Andre against the Jesuits. The Fathers of Goa then held a consultation and signed a document, whereby the Society renounced all the churches on the Fishery Coast, hoping that the Malabar Province would acquiesce.

Fr. Vaz opposed them, and he wrote to Fr. Laerzio who, in agreement with Don Francis Roz, decided not to sign the Goa document.

7. Political Allegiance of the East Coast Christians

Meanwhile war reigned on the Fishery Coast among the island Christians and the mainland Christians, led by Frey Nicholas. Everyday letters reached with details of battles, the fault being always of the Jesuits. Fr. Almeida, to end all these lies, proposed that an *Ouvidor* should be sent to the Fishery Coast to inquire into the real state of affairs. The Governor agreed, but first declared the Christians free to choose any place they liked where to live, and ordered that some women, who had been detained on the island, should be sent to their families on the mainland.

Fr. Almeida and the *Ouvidor* left for the Coast, there to meet with the refusal of the Christians to acknowledge the *Ouvidor's* authority. Their argument was that they were subject to the Nayk of Madura, not to the King of Portugal; and the Jesuits agreed with them. The *Ouvidor* was furious, and Fr. Almeida had again to go to Goa, to counteract the impression created by the mass of information sent by Frey Nicholas and the *Ouvidor*.

The Governor was displeased at the refusal of the Christians to acknowledge the King of Portugal, but on the Father's insistence, the affair was remitted to the Supreme Court (*Relasao*).

The *Mesa de Conciencia* of Lisbon had another time decided the matter in favour of the Paravars, and had acknowledged them to be subjects of the Nayk.

The Jesuit Fathers of Goa, who in so many things differed from the Fathers of the South, in this matter agreed with them, yet the Judges of the *Relasao* pronounced sentence against the Paravars, and they declared that the King of Portugal had a kind of suzerainty over them (*Mero e mistico Imperio*).

8. The Bishop of Cochin Leads a Fleet to Chase the Fathers from the Fishery Coast

Matters had reached this point when the Bishop of Cochin, believing that his authority had been flouted, decided to have recourse to arms. He despised the *Tuitiva* of the Supreme Court, which forbade him to molest the Fathers in their churches without informing His Majesty the King and did not care for the protests of the Fathers of Cochin. He had in his favour the Governor Don Alexis De Menezes, who sent seven *fustas* (boats) to Ceylon, with orders to keep themselves ready to obey the Bishop.

At Cape Camorin he was received with honour by Fr. Buccerio, who tried in vain to calm him. He proceeded straight to Tuticorin; and did not deign to answer a letter which the Rector, Fr. John da Costa, addressed him there.

In the morning he commanded the Captain to enter the island and free some women and others, who were not allowed to leave it. Fr. Rector asked time for two days, for the matter did not depend on him, but on the *Patangatins* (leaders of the people). The Captain withdrew, but the Bishop ordered him to seize all the boats leaving, or entering the island, so that the Christians remained without food and water.

Next the Bishop agreed with the Pagan Rajah, that while he went to Punical by sea, the Rajah should advance there by land with his troops. At Punical Fr. Ayres de Sa did not offer the least resistance. He was imprisoned in the sacristy for three days. A Vicar was put in his place, and he was not set at liberty till he had delivered the church ornaments.

Meanwhile the Christians from the island attacked the blockaders, wounded several soldiers, and got hold of a *fusta* (boat) from Ceylon.

On hearing this, Fr. Borges, S.J. came, dispersed the Christians, brought the wounded Portuguese to the College, took care of them, and gave them back whatever they had lost.

In the meantime letters were dispatched to Goa, describing the misdeeds of the Jesuits. All the good Goans, and even the Fathers, were edified.

The blockade lasted eighteen days, and the Christians suffered many privations. Then arrived a vessel from Ceylon, commanded by a relation of the Bishop, and a flotilla of *tonis*, under a Franciscan Friar. They brought letters to the Rector from Don Hieronymo de Azevedo, brother of Blessed de Azevedo, and Governor of Ceylon, who exhorted Fr. Da Costa to do whatever the Bishop demanded, that he would later on make peace on those terms he thought best.

Fr. Da Costa persuaded the Christians to release the prisoners, it was agreed that each side would return whatever it had taken from the other, and that everyone could live where he liked.

The Bishop objected to the last clause, and the island was evacuated almost entirely.

In January 1608 Fr. Laerzio had directed the Fathers of the Fishery Coast that, in case the Bishop should come at the head of a fleet, they should not organise any resistance, but should be content with protesting. Should the Christians prefer to fight, that was their business.

Fr. John da Costa disregarded the advice of the Provincial, and in April, when Fr. Laerzio arrived from San Thome, he severely reprimanded Fr. da Costa, both privately and in public. Then he deposed him from his charge, and put in his stead Fr. Diego da Cunha.

Meanwhile, the Bishop of Cochin sailed for Ceylon, leaving one Friar, and the ex-Jesuit Pimentel at Tuticorin. In Manar he took away four Churches from the Fathers, and deprived them even of their private belongings.

9. Revolt of the Patagantin Mor, and Renunciation of the Churches

At this time the Patagantin Mor turned against the Fathers. There had been a quarrel at Manapad between Paravars and Topas (Eurasians) and the Fathers took the part of the Topas. These were emboldened, and in a fight one man was killed, and several wounded. Some Topas were taken and sent to the island, to be hanged.

Fr. Laerzio and Fr. Levi were moved to pity and managed to save them. The ex-Jesuit Pimentel and a Franciscan did not miss this opportunity to turn the chief leader of the Paravars against the Fathers.

He entered our houses in Tuticorin and Manapad, covered the Fathers with insults, arrested them and sent them to the island.

Tired out with all this trouble, the Fathers decided to yield up the island to the Governor of Manar.

He did absolutely nothing for them. On the other hand, the Christians resented it, for they were not, and refused to be, under Portugal.

Then Father D'Almeyda and the Fathers from Goa, seeing that it was humanly impossible to end the trouble otherwise, wrote to the South, asking Fr. Laerzio to hand over the churches of the Fishery Coast.

He hesitated a little, for he was anxious about the good of souls. Finally he yielded. The churches were eighty. The Fathers had had them for about sixty years. The number of Christians, baptized and formed by them was over one hundred thousand.

Meanwhile Don Hieronymo de Azevedo, in whose palace the Bishop of Cochin lived for three months, tried in vain to make peace. On the contrary, the Bishop grew more fierce, and decided to expel the Fathers even from Carcel, which was exempted and had no direct cure of souls.

In passing by Manar, he sent soldiers to Carcel. The Fathers protested that house and gardens belonged to the Society. The soldiers burst the gates open, and brutally expelled the two Fathers, one of whom, Fr. Roger Conrad, was an old man, who had spent forty years in the Society and twenty in the Moluccas. The victims found shelter in a garden; but nobody dared approach them.

There Fr. Roger died, a victim of senseless fanaticism and hatred.

The Bishop from Tuticorin sent Ollas to the Christians of Vembar and Vaypar, telling them to come to him and ask for Vicars. They swore they would never let the Fathers go, and so the Bishop excommunicated them, fined them

1,000 pardaos, and ordered a Franciscan to seize the boats which brought them goods from Batticaloa.

The Governor-Archbishop did not move his little finger to help the oppressed. Pressed by Fr. D'Almeyda, he wrote thus:

"As Governor of this State I do not accept the renunciation which the Fathers of the Society are making of the churches which they have in the Diocese of Cochin from the hands of His Majesty, as Patron, because I understand it will not be for the service of God and of His Majesty. With regard to the jurisdiction which they pretend to have in the administration of the churches, let them settle the matter with the Ordinary of the Diocese in which they are, and which belongs to him."

FREY ALEIXO,
Archbishop, Primate.

Goa, 12th October 1608.

Though, as Governor, Don Alexis would not accept the churches, as Archbishop, he was glad the Fathers had given them up. He was, at bottom, in favour of the Bishop of Cochin, and we are informed that "the Synod which he held in Goa was solely directed against the Religious and their privileges."

10. FINAL REMARKS

The above narrative is taken from a long document of Fr. Manuel D'Almeyda. The Annual Letter of 1609 contains harrowing details of insensate cruelty, of the sadness of the Christians, who were deeply attached to the Fathers, of their endeavours to keep them, and shameful to relate—of the behaviour of several Indian priests in this affair.

Writes Fr. D'Almeyda: "It would be impossible to relate the trials, the affronts, the ill-treatments of which the Fathers were the victims, as a consequence of the anger of this Prelate. The priests, whom we had formed, turned against us and wrote infamous libels against the Fathers."

And Fr. Levanto: "These clerics speak with such freedom that is awful. For the most part, they have been formed in the Seminary of Tuticorin, and the least they say about us is that we are heretics."

Fr. D'Almeyda laments also the want of sympathy on the part of the Fathers of Goa. With the exception of Fr. Gomez Vas, not one in Goa stirred a little finger to defend the South neither with the Governor, nor with the Relasao. He heard more criticisms from Ours than from externs.

To give a faint idea of what the removal of the Fathers meant we take the following from the Annual Letter of 1609:

"Fr. Nicolas Paludano had worked more than thirty years among these people. He was at Vaypar, together with Fathers Campello and Pelingotti. The 23rd of February was the date fixed for their departure. When the moment arrived, the Fathers found it difficult to open their way to the church among the crowd. There Fr. Paludano, standing on a stool, thanked them for their love for the Society.

"Then there was an outburst of weeping and lamenting that did not allow him to go on. As the Christians of Miletus accompanied St. Paul, so these people accompanied the Fathers to the boat. For two hours they delayed on the shore to receive their last greetings.

"To put a stop to it, they called to the Friar in charge to come nearer with his boat. Finally, when the Fathers were about to embark, the lamentations began again. Everyone wanted to kiss their garments. Many knelt at their feet; others took hold of their hands, and placed them on their eyes and heads; others again embraced them dearly, and begged of them not to abandon them. ... Even the Pagans were moved to tears."

But let us leave these harrowing details. Let us rather take from the writer of the Annual Letter of 1609 the following remarks: "I cannot refrain from some reflections on the sad departure of Ours from the Fishery Coast.

"From there every year we used to send luscious fruit, as from a well-cultivated orchard. But a wild boar has broken through its fences, and has trampled it under foot. How has this come about?

"First of all, many people, and not ignorant men at all, have foolishly come to believe that we possessed immense wealth. That is the reason, they said, why the pearls have failed of late. The Jesuits have fished them ... or rather they have managed to persuade the oysters to remain only

in the deepest abyss of the sea. And the Bishop has sent divers, and they have found them, and Te Deums have been sung everywhere upon the happy discovery. But, unfortunately, many people who, deceived by these rumours, had put their money in the pearl trade, lost it all. . . .

"The Fathers had to abandon these Christians, where the Faith had such deep roots, that, if in the whole East the first palms go to the Japanese, the second surely must fall to the Paravars—so good they are. But, perhaps, one might say that the Fathers, by their scandals and bad example, were beginning to ruin this magnificent vineyard.

"Well, let those who know, let even our enemies say with what chastity, and piety, and solicitude and love, the Fathers worked for these people. With what zeal and patience they cared, not only for the good of their souls, but of their bodies as well.

"For them, when the circumstances demanded it, one of the Fathers came to Goa to plead with the Viceroy, and obtain privileges and exemptions. When the neighbouring Kings were oppressing them, Ours placed themselves like ramparts before them. They were not afraid to endure insults and affronts from these barbarians.

"These were the tyrannical acts, the acts of oppression of which Ours were guilty towards the Paravars.

"These were our crimes of *lèse Majesté*, for which the Bishop of Cochin has taken over our possessions, has delivered our houses to be pillaged by his soldiers and clerks, has expelled venerable old men and missionaries from their churches, has razed to the ground—or at least has unroofed our College on the island of the Kings—encouraging with his smiles the blackguards who worked to demolish it."

11. The Bishop of Cochin Makes Peace with the Society (1612)

Soon after reaching India, Fr. Francisco Pero took up the office of Provincial of the South, which for many years, had been so nobly filled by Fr. Albert Laerzio. It was no bed of roses. One of the first endeavours of the new Provincial was to make peace with the Bishop of Cochin. He asked to see him. He was received. Other Fathers did the same.

Little by little there was some understanding; the Society, of course, yielding practically all along the line.

At Easter 1612, before starting for the visitation of the Province, Fr. Pero obtained the following things from the Bishop.

(*a*) That the church, house and garden of Carcel on the island of Manar should be returned to the Fathers.

(*b*) That the Vicars of the Coast and of Manar should be requested to give him hospitality, for the last year they had been more than rude to Fr. Laerzio.

(*c*) That permission should be granted to the Society to build Churches and houses in the Kingdom of Kandy. When the Bishop had introduced the Society into Ceylon, he granted us this right. Later on, when Don Hieronymo de Azevedo conquered Kandy, the right had been withdrawn, upon request by the Franciscans.

(*d*) That a general pardon should be given to the Christians of the Fishery Coast, who had compromised themselves in the affair of the churches.*

Further, Fr. Pero obtained from Don Andre that the names of the excommunicated partisans of George De Cruz should be published in the Cathedral. The man who read out the names was none other than the notorious Pedro Affonso, Vicar of Cranganore.

Don Andre excommunicated also those who would attend feasts in churches subject to the Archdeacon.

Yet Don Francis Roz believed that the Archdeacon was still supported by the Bishop. He wrote about it to Goa. A kind soul sent copy of the letter to Don Andre, who sent it to the Provincial.

Fr. Pero cried when he read it. In a quarter of an hour Don Francis had spoiled the results of months of infinite patience and tact.

12. Exit Don Andre, Bishop of Cochin

Though peace was established between Don Andre and the Jesuits, in Portugal, matters were settled differently. We have seen how Fr. Spinola had been sent there to

* *Cf.* Fr. Pero's letter to Aquaviva, 26th October 1612.

represent the Society. He did his job well. The Government blamed the conduct of Don Andre and ordered him to return to the Jesuits the churches of the Fishery Coast. So did the Holy See. But Don Andre did nothing of the kind. He rather preferred to give up the Bishopric. Then the Chapter chose Don Sebastiao de San Pedro, Bishop of Mylapore, as Bishop of Cochin and he took possession of his See in November 1616.

Meanwhile, Fr. Pero died, and Fr. G. Fernandez succeeded him. The King had ordered the Jesuits to return to the Fishery Coast. Fr. Fernandez showed the letter to Don Sebastiao, who procrastinated. In 1618 nothing yet had been done. The Bishop objected on the ground that Vicars had been substituted to the Jesuits. Now, if the Jesuits go back, what is to be done with the Vicars? They would lose the churches; should no compensation be paid to them?

And what of the honour and prestige of the Bishop? Have the home authorities no consideration for that? It is a pity the poor Bishop has no money. If he had, he would not stop one day longer in Cochin, but would return to Portugal.

Finally, in 1621, the secular priests and the Franciscans, who had administered the churches of the Fishery Coast, returned them to the Jesuits. Now we must look a few years before this time. We have seen how the translation of the See of Angamale to Cranganore was the cause of infinite trouble. The limits of the Archdiocese of Cranganore and the Diocese of Cochin were not fixed immediately after the translation, and that was but natural in the circumstances. They were only determined by Paul V in a Brief of the 3rd December 1609. The Primate Menezes promulgated the Brief one year after. The Pope wrote another Brief on the subject in 1616, which was communicated by the Primate to the new Bishop of Cochin, Don Sebastiao de San Pedro, while the latter was in Goa.

Don Francis Roz was kept in the dark about it. In a letter of the 14th February 1619, Don Sebastiao writes to the King that the perpetuation of the division of the Dioceses will mean the loss of Cranganore for the Portuguese and the perpetual rebellion of the Syrian Christians. He sees in the Archbishop the final reason why the Zamorin waged war against Cochin. He suggests that since Don Francis is nearly blind he should be removed.

In another letter he takes the Society to task because the Jesuits are exporting pepper from Paliporto. That is why they keep that church. Similarly, they are keen about Calicut, though they do not make a single Christian there.

And so the accusations continue. Don Andre had made peace with the Jesuits, but the animosity against them is not extinct.

First Don Francis Roz must be dislodged from the Serra, then the Jesuits. Don Sebastiao San Pedro, however, did not succeed. He governed the Diocese of Cochin for nine years, and was then transferred to Goa. Frey Luis de Brito Menezes, Bishop of Mylapore, was made Bishop of Cochin in 1627, but he went to Goa, as Governor-General, and died there in 1629.

The Chapter appointed Canon Poyva as Administrator, but he was soon sent to Mozambique, probably because he hit it off well with the Jesuits, and in his stead, the ex-Jesuit, Frey Augustin de Magalhaes, was made Administrator.

Father G. Fernandez, Provincial, lamented the prolonged vacancy of the See, and wrote that the heathen were highly scandalized by the license of the Clergy.

To remedy in part at least this state of affairs, he proposed that, SEDE VACANTE, the Archbishop of Cranganore should be in charge of Cochin as well. He also demanded that when the Bishop cannot visit his flock, the visitation be carried out by a Religious of the same Order as that to which the Christianity is entrusted and not by the seculars, whose only object is to extort money. Further, the Vicars of Vara should belong to the same Order and be appointed by the Bishop or by the Superiors Regular.

13. FURTHER TROUBLES ON THE FISHERY COAST

As we have seen, the churches on the Fishery Coast had been given back to the Society. But the Chapter of Cochin could hardly acquiesce. Now that the Count of Linhares—a sworn enemy of the Jesuits—was reigning in Goa, and that the See of Cochin was administered by an ex-Jesuit, they thought their time had come.

Linhares appointed a certain Suarez—a man of conscience—to go to Tuticorin, get hold of the church there, and then of the churches on the Coast, and hand them over to the seculars. They fixed upon Septuagesima Sunday to carry out their plan. Fr. Francis de Oliveyra was attacked in his Presbitery, beaten and expelled by the Vicar of Vara and his satellites.

Fr. Fernando Lopez, who had been made Rector of Tuticorin from Colombo, came to Cape Comorin to take over charge. He went to Paleacael, and from there he started on foot to Tuticorin, accompanied by about 100 persons, who were eager to do him honour. Several Fathers were with him.

Suarez was waiting for him, and no sooner did he appear than he was greeted with arrows, spears and arquebuses. His followers bolted, and he would have been killed on the spot, had not a Franciscan come to the rescue. He was carried to a house, a doctor was sent for, the poor Father took more than two months to recover. The Fathers on the Coast—sixteen in number—decided to withdraw. The churches were handed over. Fr. Lopez was sent to Goa to represent matters. But Linhares refused to see him.

Meanwhile, all sorts of calumnies were spread about the Society, to the sorrow of the good, and the joy of the wicked. Fr. Gasper Fernandez informed both the Pope and the King of what had happened. An inquiry was made. The seculars were accused of making money by all kinds of means; their own interest, and not the good of souls, was their rule of conduct.

Philip III ordered their withdrawal, and the churches were again given back to the Jesuits. In 1632, nine Fathers were again at their posts, to the intense sorrow of the Canons of Cochin and of their friends. But their work bristled with difficulties. First they had among them the King's officials, bent on tyrannizing and plundering; next the heathen Kinglets, who oppressed the Christians. The Viceroy, however, who was in office till 1636, was their worst enemy. He had written to Portugal that it was more difficult for him to fight the Jesuits than the Dutch. He had bribed our servants to report how many pearls the Fathers got from the divers, where they sold them, for how much.

The Captain of Cochin, the ex-Jesuit Magalhaes, the Chapter, were all against the Society. Shiploads of accusations went to Europe against the ill-fated Jesuits. Much was not believed. Some mud, however, remained, to swell that dirty river, which later on was to engulf the whole Society.

Fr. Provincial De Azevedo's visit to the Fishery Coast took place in 1638. The opposition of the Clerigos was at its height. The Captain submitted to the Provincial a list of accusations, partly false, partly exaggerated.

Formerly the Fathers were the sole masters on the Coast; now in spiritual matters they depend on the Vicars de Vara, and in temporal matters, on the Captain. Hence endless friction. To the Governor they are accused that they play the Rajahs, and to the Bishop that they behave like Bishops. The Paravars at times side with the Jesuits, at times with the Vicars. The King was so vexed that he wrote to the Provincial to change some of these *Discoli*; and the Bishop wrote in the same strain. He called us wolves, not shepherds. "I have determined"—writes the poor Provincial—"to gather all the Fathers I can, and see with them what is to be done. I shall inform Your Paternity and then do what Your Paternity thinks best. But it is the opinion of the Fathers that we ourselves should renounce these churches before the King, goaded on by the Bishop, should take them away" (*Coulam*, 1638).

"*P.S.*—I have come back to Cochin and I have seen the Bishop Don Miguel Rangel. He is satisfied with the information he has already received about my visitation, and with the changes I have made. He has thanked me repeatedly.

"The Captain of Tuticorin had written to him. He has also written to the Viceroy that I have settled things, and that peace has been restored."

How long peace will continue, will be seen in the next volume.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

[1] A contemporary description of the Fortress of Cranganore is to be found in a Portuguese MS. *Noticias Da India* (*Indian Office Mss., Portuguese* Translation, Vol. I, p. 225).

"The fortress", says the writer, "is provided with a Cathedral and an Archbishop appointed by the Holy See. It has a Captain for its maintenance with the garrison and artillery required for its defence, a Misericordia, and a house of the Fathers of the Company of Jesus, and another of St. Francis. The fortress is 100 fathoms in length from bastion to bastion, and 3 in height and 6 spans in width. The settlement which is near the Fortress contains 100 married couples, 40 Portuguese and the rest natives. The wall which surrounded the settlement is 60 fathoms and 16 spans in height."

(Quoted by PANNIKAR, *Malabar and the Portuguese*, pp. 149–50.)

[2] *Episcopo Coccini in Indiis Orientalibus*, PAULUS PP. V.

Venerabilis Frater, salutem etc., Quam perniciosa sit Ecclesiæ Dei sacerdotum discordia mala quæ diversis temporibus ex hujusmodi causa perpessa est, abunde testantur; propterea graviter dolemus inter fraternitatem tuam et venerabilem fratrem episcopum Angamalensem adeo vehemens exortum esse dissidium ut ad arma, quemadmodum accepimus, ventum sit. Significatum est nobis id factum esse prætextu conservandæ jurisdictionis. Plane tueri Ecclesiæ jura æquum est id autem vi atque armis experiri adversus fratrem et cœpiscopum, indecorum. Nimis enim a fraterna charitate dissentit, quam in omnibus operibus præferre debemus ut disciplinam Christi quam profitemur in nobis homines agnoscant. Quare fraternitatem tuam etiam atque etiam hortamur et monemus, ut abstineas ab ejusmodi rationibus in disceptando de ecclesiae tuae jure quod si aliqua in re injuriam ei illatam fuisse quereris ad hanc S. Sedem referas, et nos ex sacrorum canonum præscripto indemnitati illius opportune providebimus. Interim quia intelleximus dilectos filios nostros Sacerdotes Soc. Jesu, ob hanc discordiam, magnis incommoditatibus affectos fuisse, ita ut Dei servitio et saluti animarum pro veteri eorum instituto minus commode operam dare valeant quae res nobis permolesta est qui de vineæ istius cultura valde solliciti sumus, et operariorum illorum diligentiam atque industriam perspectam habemus; ideo fraternitati tuae præcipimus ac mandamus, ut si quid in eos dignum animadversionis existimaveris illud Societatis Prælatis significes, qui necessitati consulent, ac simul nos de omnibus certiores facies. Divinum auxilium in munere tuo pastorali obeundo tibi a Domino optamus, et fraternitati tuae ap. benedictionem nostram impartimur.

Datum Romæ, apud S Marcum, etc. XII Kal. Oct. MDCVIII, Pontiff, etc., IV. (*Ex Beltrami*, pp. 271–72).

CHAPTER XII

THE FIRST LATIN BISHOP OF THE THOMAS CHRISTIANS: DON FRANCIS ROZ, S.J.

(1601–1624)

(C) HIS RELATIONS WITH THE SOCIETY OF JESUS

Fr. Robert De Nobili, S.J.

WE shall now deal with another aspect of Archbishop Roz's life; his relations with the Society of Jesus.

As long as Fr. Laerzio was Provincial there was perfect agreement with Don Francis Roz. The Archbishop had the highest esteem for Fr. Laerzio, whom he called "The Father of his soul". He consulted him in difficulties, and, what is more, followed his advice. The Father, on the other hand, did his best to help the Archbishop in the reformation of the Diocese. According to his ability he granted him the Fathers he wanted: Fr. Campori, his Secretary, Fr. De Brito, his co-worker in the Mission Field, Fr. Callegari, whom the Archbishop loved, and whom he would have desired to be his successor. But then things changed. A new man—Fr. Francis Pero—came from Portugal, and straightaway was made Provincial. Besides some minor points, there were two important matters on which he did not agree with the Archbishop's policy. The first was the quarrel with the Bishop of Cochin, of which we have spoken at length in the preceding chapter. The second was Fr. De Nobili's missionary experiment in Madura, of which we shall speak now.

Though Madura is on the West Coast, yet it belonged to the Malabar Province. That is one reason for us to speak of it. Another reason is supplied by the importance of Fr. Nobili's mission. The third by the not inconsiderable part played in its inception and in its development by Archbishop Roz.

1. THE MISSION AT CHANDRAGIRI

the capital of the Rajah of Bisnagar was started by Fr. Ayres De Saa in 1598. The King had allowed the Fathers

to build a church, had assigned to it the revenue of a village, and had made a present of 3,000 pardaos. Fr. Francis Riccio, an eminent theologian and skilled linguist, succeeded Fr. De Saa; and the Rajah loved to converse with him, and with the English painter, Fr. Alexander Fernandez. Later on, when another artist, Br. Fontebona, had decorated the church with pictures, the King was delighted with the work. The Fathers had free entrance to court, and were visited by distinguished guests, who listened to the Christian doctrine being explained to them. A school for caste children was opened, and Fr. Riccio wrote in Telugu a catechism, and a refutation of the Puranic Cosmogony. Yet no conversions took place, except those of six outsiders, who, being caste-men were allowed to replace the Vishnuvite marks which they had on the forehead with the Cross, painted red, and two nails, painted white, diverging from the root of the nose.

Fr. Riccio, knowing the religious veneration in which Sanskrit was held by all the Brahmins, began to study it, though he was already 64 years old. He asked, and obtained, from Fr. Aquaviva that the new arrival, Fr. Rubino, should be sent from Goa to Chandragiri.

Fr. Rubino reached the new Mission in 1607, and immediately realised the difficulties of conversion work. So, he informed Fr. Laerzio, little knowing that Fr. De Nobili was writing in the same strain from Madura.

In September 1609 he thus writes to Fr. General: "It cannot be imagined how great is the aversion and how intense the repulsion we inspire in the Indians, simply by the fact of our being the priests of the Portuguese. From the time this Mission was founded till now, only fifteen have been made Christians, and they are the dregs of society. Their lives are so scandalous, that I have resolved not to baptize any other, unless he bears marks of a special vocation from God. Hence I have repeatedly entreated Fr. Laerzio, the Provincial, to be allowed to go away to some other place, where I shall be unknown and there dress and live outwardly as an Indian." (*Vestire, mangiare, o nelle cose politiche trattare come loro.*)

Fr. Rubino's request was not granted, not because Fr. Laerzio did not agree or sympathise with him, but because he wanted to see how the same experiment, which, just then,

was being tried in Madura by Fr. De Nobili, was going to turn out.

2. Fr. Robert de Nobili

In the Biographical Notice which Fr. Antony De Proenza wrote in 1656, it is said that "Fr. Robert was born in Rome". "I say nothing", Fr. Antony continues, "of his nobility, or of his illustrious lineage ... Suffice it to say that three of his relatives obtained the honour of the Papacy. He entered the Society in 1596, after having fled away from Rome, for fear of his parents' opposition. In the Novitiate his Master of Novices, Fr. Nicholas Orlandini, the historian of the Society, predicted to him the Indian Mission, in which he would render great services to Christ our Lord.

"From that time the thoughts and aspirations of Brother Robert were continually directed towards the East. At the end of his studies he begged as a great favour to be sent there, and finally obtained the object of his request."

We have seen elsewhere, how he reached Goa in 1605, and then went to Madura. His impressions about the work of the Fathers are forcibly conveyed in a letter written to Fr. General in 1609. He says: "It is but too true that till now our Fathers have hardly tried to enter into intercourse with the people of the interior. With the exception of a few towns owned by the Portuguese and a few streaks of coasts depending on them, together with some establishments on the coast, all that immense land of India, where the power of the King of Portugal never possessed any sort of influence and where consequently one cannot expect any help from that power for the promotion of the Missions, continues to grovel in the darkness of idolatry.

"Thus the way to the conversion of India is shut among the people of the interior. All our reputed missionaries are content to employ themselves in the Colleges of Cochin and in the four Residences we have along the coast, and shut their eyes to the innumerable multitude of souls living in those wide-spread lands of India. Only a few try to penetrate into them."

Having stayed for some time with Fr. Gonsalvo Fernandez, Fr. Robert "separated himself from him, built for himself

a house and a chapel on a site given him by a pagan of high position in the Brahmin quarter, and made it his own special home."

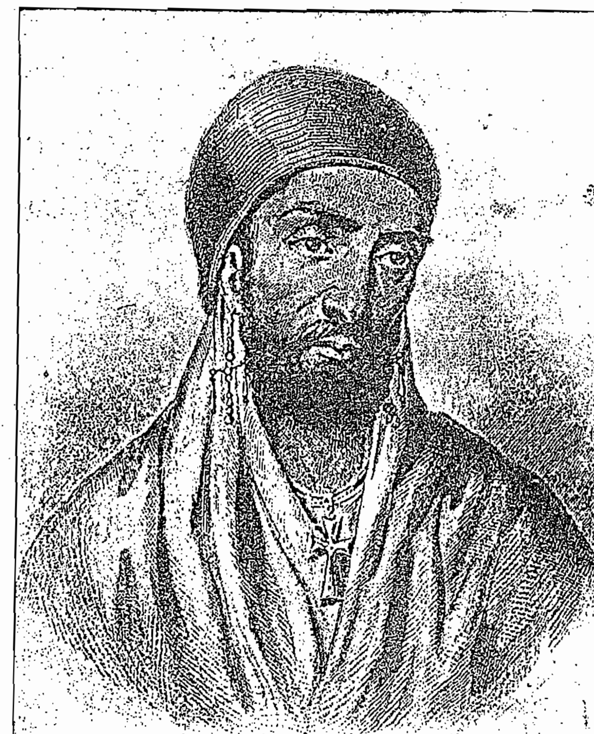
There "with my (Fr. Laerzio's) approval and with the authorisation of the Archbishop of Cranganore, he presented himself to the Brahmins, protesting he was neither a Prangui nor a Portuguese, but a Roman Rajah, *i.e.,* a man of high nobility, and a *Sanyassi,* that is a penitent, who had forsaken the world and all its enjoyments....

"From that moment Fr. De Nobili admitted none but Brahmins into his service. Rice, milk, herbs and water, taken once a day, constituted his only food. A long robe of yellowish cloth with a sort of rochet of the same colour thrown over the shoulders, a cap in the form of a turban on his head, and wooden slippers fixed on supports two inches high and fastened to each foot by a peg passing between the toes, formed his costume. To this he adds a string, the distinctive sign of the Brahmins, and the Raju caste; but instead of the three threads of which it is generally made, he uses five, three of gold and two of silver and a Cross is suspended from the middle. The three gold threads, as he explains, represent the holy Trinity, and the two silver ones the body and the soul of the adorable Humanity of our Lord, while the Cross in the middle represents the Passion and Death of the Saviour. .... Next, in order the better to win the respect and esteem of these people, he buried himself in a mysterious solitude, never going out of his house, and admitting visitors only with extreme reserve. For the true means of attracting these people is to excite their curiosity. Fr. Robert charms everybody by his conversation, the stories and passages from Indian authors which he quotes from memory, and by a great number of verses of his own composition, which he partly sings and partly recites with exquisite delicacy and distinction."[1]

3. Primitiae

In the Annual Letter of 1609 Fr. Christopher John writes: "For the College and for the whole town (of Cochin) it was a great consolation to have as it were two bunches of grapes

[1] Letter of Fr. Laerzio to Fr. Aquaviva, 30th December 1608.



PADRE ROBERTO DE NOBILI, S.J.

from the vineyard of Madura, which [illegible]
ful vintage.

"We have here two young men, who were still pagans but a short time ago, and who are now so well instructed by Fr. Robert, that I wish to God that those who have received the faith from the cradle were like them. They have come to be confirmed. After a rigorous examination, and after Confession and Communion, the Archbishop Don Francis administered Confirmation. When he gave them the ceremonial slap, and told them that from that moment they became Christ's soldiers, and were to be ready for the honour and defence of the faith to endure affronts and persecutions they answered that they were ready even to die. It was a beautiful spectacle to witness, and especially for the Christians of Saint Thomas among whom it took place. For the Archbishop was away five miles from the town, and the neophytes were taken to him by boat. . . . Many could not help crying. The people vied with each other in offering what they had to these young men who had come, not moved by self-interest, but by the desire to see the Fathers, and to receive Confirmation.

"This disinterestedness—adds the writer—is all the more admirable that it is unknown among these people, among whom it is almost a second nature ever to expect some little advantage."

During the visitation of the Province of 1608, Fr. Laerzio had been for over a month with Fr. De Nobili, and had seen for himself the ways adopted, and the results hoped for, by the Father. Later on, during Fr. De Nobili's trials, the Provincial will stand by him, and defend him most strenuously.

4. Archbishop Roz

Fr. De Nobili found another champion besides Fr. Laerzio, in Don Francis Roz, the Archbishop of Cranganore. In a long and most interesting letter to Fr. Aquaviva he writes as follows: "The Madura mission which is within my diocese, is a mission very spiritual but very hard, and in all respects worthy of perfect men and true sons of the Society, entirely devoted to God, without any human satisfaction and with a perpetual mortification of the flesh. I am convinced that it has been started by divine inspiration, in order to open the

way to the conversion of the whole of Malabar.... Before adopting this manner of life, Fr. Robert first consulted me, who am the Pastor of that Church. When we had decided between ourselves on a plan of measures to be adopted, the Father gradually carried them out, whilst I decided to continue to be in a certain fashion, his fellow-worker and to assist him in his holy enterprise. I first read the books of Hindu Idolatry —the subtlest that exist: next I sought the advice of the best Theologians of the Malabar Province and the Goan Inquisitor and of the most illustrious Primate, Don Frey Alexis Menezes, now Primate of Braga, and Governor of Portugal, and finding that their views agreed with what I had gathered from long experience of those parts, I gave my full sanction to the method followed by Fr. Robert in the formation of his Christians. We declared in particular that the thread worn by the Brahmins and the *kudumi* or tuft of hair which caste Indians grow on their heads, the sandal and other civil customs, were not marks of a religious sect, but only distinctions of nobility, caste or family, and that the converts might keep them without any scandal.

"When the Lord Don Alexis heard of those decisions and how Fr. Robert had already converted some Brahmins, he felt deeply moved and wrote to me that he would consent to wear any number of threads if at that price he could induce a single Brahmin to become a Christian and that he wished Fr. Robert's slanderers had become his imitators.

"Those Brahmins mix many superstitious with the civil customs. We remove what is superstitious and substitute instead devout prayers, which sanctify those civil customs. Our Christians of St. Thomas, because of their high social rank, make use of ablutions, just as pagans do, but without any superstitious connection.

"The said Lord Primate, while visiting that Christian community, did not forbid any of those customs. Indeed the first thing we ought to have in view in the work of conversions, is to plant the faith of Christ and root out idolatry, as the Apostles did, and then little by little introduce the other customs of the Church."[2]

[2] Letter to Fr. Aquaviva, 19th November 1613.

5. The Storm

The defence of Fr. Nobili's methods by Archbishop Roz is what we would have expected from a Prelate so enlightened and large-hearted.

Similarly Fr. Laerzio was entirely on the side of the great Missionary. But men are not all of the calibre of these pioneers. De Nobili's methods were new, they apparently contradicted some of the Canons of the Council of Goa, they implicitly disapproved of other methods. Hence opposition.

Fr. Laerzio, in his letter to Aquaviva (6th December 1910) says that among the chief opponents there was the Bishop of Cochin. But he adds, "the Archbishop of Cranganore is entirely on the side of Fr. De Nobili; and the Primate Menezes has written to him saying that he envies him.

"Next come the *Clerigos* and Frades of Manar and the Fishery Coast. They went so far as to say that Fr. De Nobili had turned Hindu. They wanted to lay hands on our ancient residence, where there was Fr. Gonsalvo Fernandez, as they had possessed themselves of our posts on the Coast. To this end they sent Ambassadors with rich presents to the Nayk of Madura, and to his chief officials." But Fr. Laerzio, suspecting their manouvres, ordered Fr. Gonsalves to remain at Madura, even if the Fathers were to leave the Coast, for the Nayk and his officials knew him well, having resided there 14 or 15 years. More, through Fr. Levanto he obtained that the King of Bisnagar should write to the Nayk of Madura, recommending to him the Fathers of Madura, who were the Brethren of those of Vellore and Chandragiri.

The Nayk then told Fr. Fernandez to be at ease, for he had nothing to fear.

Fr. De Nobili had also to suffer much from Brahmins and Pandarams, who were jealous of his success. But he triumphed through his science. All the people of Madura were amazed at his genius and sanctity.

Finally he had to endure much from some converts, who were persuaded by a Paravar that when they received Baptism, and the Father placed the salt in their mouths, they lost caste. Some 15 out of 60 revolted.

The Father told them that they were deceived, and wrote

out an *olla*, explaining matters, which the Christians fixed upon a tree for all to read.

Such were the persecutions coming from outsiders. The misrepresentations which originated from the Fathers of the Society were harder to bear.

6. Inimici Hominis Domestici Eius

We have seen how Fr. Fernandez had been in Madura for many years. He worked among the Portuguese and the Pariahs, and in his manner of life he conformed to Portuguese ways.

He was deeply offended at Fr. De Nobili's discarding of the old methods, and at his apparent disrespect for the Portuguese.

He began a series of Memorials—the plague of the Indian Missions—to his immediate superiors, to Goa, and even to Rome. Both Cardinal Bellarmin and Fr. Aquaviva were perturbed, but the replies of Archbishop Roz, of Fr. Laerzio and of Fr. De Nobili himself cleared the air.

But the enterprising Fr. Fernandez was not discouraged. With a perseverance worthy of a better cause, he continued his campaign against the Italian. In 1610 he wrote a voluminous Memorial, which was examined by Frs. Antony Fernandez and Francis Vergara.

The Visitator, Fr. Piments, had it re-examined by four other Fathers and, being himself rather opposed to Fr. De Nobili, ordered the Provincial to hold a consultation on the new methods. The Provincial with nine Fathers were in favour of Fr. De Nobili, three were against. Their reasons can be reduced to six:

(1) Excessive expenses.
(2) Life too difficult. It cannot last.
(3) Pagan customs.
(4) Manner of preaching not quite apostolic.
(5) Chord forbidden by the 3rd Council of Goa.
(6) He despises the Portuguese.

Fr. De Nobili, and his faithful companion Fr. De Vico, defended themselves in their letter to Aquaviva of the 12th November 1610.

As long as Laerzio was Provincial, the Madura Mission had nothing to fear, but he was succeeded by Fr. Pero Francisco, who was indeed admiring Frs. De Nobili and Vico's virtue, but could not approve of their methods.

He wrote to Rome, and Rome counselled some changes. Archbishop Roz informed Aquaviva that his advice was good, yet its execution will throw discredit on the Fathers. Later on (4th July 1613) he wrote again to Fr. Aquaviva to assure him that nothing sinful was done at Madura, that the writers from Goa had misinformed him, as they themselves had admitted to Fr. Roz ("We have been deceived by *idiots*"). The Provincial is wholly against the Mission, he cannot bear that people should speak about it, and is entirely biassed in this matter.

Fr. Provincial on the other hand wrote complaining that both Frs. De Nobili and Vico put their own interpretation on the letters from Rome, and insisted that they should understand

(1) that Rome was well-informed;
(2) that the methods of evangelization must be changed;
(3) that Fr. General disapproved of the use of the chord, the sandal paste and the ablutions;
(4) that he disapproved the simulation they had recourse to not to pass for Pranguis, and that they called themselves Brahmins;
(5) they must treat with the Fathers of the other residence openly in the full light of the day;
(6) they must abandon all the rites borrowed from the Pagans, and introduce the usages common in the Churches of Pranguis;
(7) the *Sanyassi* dress is tolerated by His Paternity, because he does not know in what it consists. If he knew, he would disapprove of it, as the Archbishop of Cranganore (Sic). It is not proper;
(8) the abstinence is approved; but not the ceremonies at meals;
(9) different places in the Churches for different castes are approved.

Fr. De Nobili answered the Provincial, proposing a journey to Cochin, where in fact he went, dressed as a *Sanyassi*, and

accompanied by two Brahmin converts. He further wrote to Rome, justifying himself both with Fr. General and Cardinal Bellarmin.

7. Calumnies

In 1610 Fr. Laerzio remained some time in Madura with Fr. De Nobili. Then four Christians brought accusations against the Father, concerning women. "I examined everything with care. I put Fr. Robert on oath, and I was convinced that it was a pure fabrication. Fr. Vico arrived while I was there. I told him to watch over everything in the house, the expenses, etc., and then the calumniators came, asked pardon and confessed it was all false."[3]

But in 1614 the accusations were repeated. Fr. Pero spoke with Fr. Vico, and advised him ho get Fr. Buccerio to make an inquiry.

This Fr. Buccerio had been a warm supporter of Fr. De Nobili in the beginning; but then, moved by Fr. Gonsalves's reasons, had completely veered round. In fact, he was so strongly prejudiced against De Nobili that, being in danger of death, he refused to be anointed by Fr. Robert.

In a letter of the 11th December 1614, and in another of the 2nd February 1615, Fr. Buccerio writes that he has made inquiries and the proofs against are overwhelming. At the same time, Fr. Vico, on the 14th October 1614, and again, on the 8th of July 1615, says that he watched Fr. De Nobili, but finds that all these vile accusations lack foundation.

Upon the death of Fr. Pero, the Vice-Provincial, G. Fernandez charged Fr. Manuel Barradas—the Socius—to make an extract of all these letters to be sent to Rome.

8. Retractations

But the vile campaign finally came to an end. The Archbishop of Cranganore, and the new Provincial, Fr. Gasper Fernandez, arranged for the witnesses to come to Malabar. On the 18th October 1617, the Brahmin Caranagarem, from Madura, made his retractation in the presence of Dr. Roz and of Fr. Oliveyra, Rector of Cranganore. Similarly, on the 14th

[3] Fr. Laerzio to Fr. Vitelleschi, 30th November 1615.

December 1617, Boniface Sastiri withdrew the charges against Fr. De Nobili.

The whole thing had started from jealousy among servants; it had grown, encouraged by the unfortunate conduct of Fr. Fernandez and Fr. Buccerio. The Provincial, Fr. Pero, had easily believed things, which it would have been his duty to scrutinize most carefully.

Fortunately Archbishop Roz, Fr. Laerzio, Fr. Campori and Fr. Vico threw the whole weight of their authority in favour of the innocent; and innocence finally triumphed.

Yet at what cost! Fr. De Nobili had seen his methods misrepresented. He had witnessed the closing down of his mission. He had been forbidden to receive any more converts. He knew that some of his Religious Brethren had even given money to reward the honest efforts of his accusers! When, in 1615, he started on foot from Madura to Cochin his heart was heavy indeed! He trudged along for eighteen days; and when he arrived, "officialdom" treated him coldly and with suspicion.

Fr. Laerzio was touched, and he wrote to Fr. Vitelleschi to send a letter of consolation to the afflicted Father. So did Fr. Campori and Fr. Stephen de Brito.

Fr. Barradas's extracts are still to be seen in the Archives of the Society. A marginal note in Portuguese states: "A Missionary from Madura says that Fr. Robert justified himself." Then follow the full retractations, and finally the words: "From all this it is clear that the above accusations are pure calumnies."

9. The Council of Goa

Upon the death of Fr. Pero, the opposition to Fr. De Nobili's methods did not cease. Rome, however, would not be hustled. The Pope wrote that the matter had to be decided by a Council of Theologians, under the presidency of the Archbishop of Goa. The meeting took place on the 14th of February 1619. The Archbishop Don Francis Roz, in spite of his infirmities, decided to accompany Fr. De Nobili. At the Council there were four Jesuits, two Dominicans, two Augustinians, three Portuguese Priests, two of whom boasted they knew nothing of Canon Law, two Inquisitors, and five Indian

Priests. Besides the Jesuits, two only seemed to have had any knowledge of the controversy.

Fr. De Nobili was scarcely heard. The prejudices against him seemed insuperable. But Fr. Andre Palmeyro and one of the Inquisitors were in his favour.

Apparently the battle was lost. Papers went to Rome. Rome delayed. In 1621 Lisbon authorised the use of the chord, of the coudumi, etc. On the 31st January 1623, Gregory XV wrote a Brief approving of Fr. De Nobili's methods. The Provincial Fr. Fernandez, was luckily dead (April 1621). The approval of Fr. Robert was the Provincial's condemnation. Though less opposed to it than Fr. Pero, yet he did not see how the Mission justified itself.

Even the visitor—Fr. A. Palmeyro—though he admired the austerity of the Missionaries, favoured the closing of the Mission. Here are his reasons:

"(*a*) In fifteen years the Mission has produced no results. Fr. Pero had forbidden the making of new converts. Fr. Fernandez relaxed, and I too insisted that freedom should be restored to the missionaries. But they have no hopes.

"(*b*) Several Fathers, who have great experience, think that the Mission is barren; it is very expensive, it is a scandal for many.

"(*c*) This system of dissimulation cannot last. People begin to see through it.

"(*d*) I do not mind that they should dress like Brahmins, and call themselves Brahmins of the King of Spain. What I cannot tolerate is that they should deny that they are Portuguese and they should refuse to deal with the Portuguese.

"(*e*) The want of resources is great, but strictly speaking, we can carry on.

"(*f*) It would be good, prudently, to get some information if they (the Christians) are allowed to be cremated after death.

Father Assistant, rest assured that this Mission, as it is carried on, is a fantastic thing, without substance or marrow. If it continues thus, it will continue in the opinion with which it was started, but without taking into account what we owe to religion, truth and sincerity, with which we must conduct ourselves in matters so important.

"I have visited these Fathers, and I was greatly edified by their poverty and recollection.

"The life they live is very meritorious. I do not blame them for their point of view. On the method of preaching the faith I wished first to treat of this affair with the Archbishop of Cranganore and his Socius Fr. J. M. Campori. But I would not treat of the same matter with others at any price. For if they had wind of my design, the majority of Ours, who are opposed to them, would rise against them, and would make some manifestation which would be heard of by outsiders." (Cochin, 20th December 1620.)

10. Fr. Antonio Vico

It is good to say a word here about Fr. De Nobili's faithful companion, Fr. Vico. He was born at Montalto in Italy, near Fermo and Ascoli, in the year 1576. He joined the Society of Jesus in 1593 and sailed for India nearly at the same time as Fr. De Nobili. From 1607 to 1610 he taught Theology in Cochin. In September 1610 he went to Madura to join Fr. Robert, he embraced his way of life and persevered in it till his death. Though the *Sanyassi's* life was very trying, he never looked backwards. His letters show that he lived in perfect harmony with Fr. De Nobili. His superiors regarded him as a saint. His manner of life and his scruples had reduced him to a state of extreme thinness, so that it was said of him that he was all-spiritualised. The people, who have always looked upon penitent *Yogis* with the greatest respect, had for him the deepest veneration. Towards the end of his life his mental anguish increased, he was reduced to skin and bones and could not do much for the Mission. The evil wind of calumny did not touch him. There are many letters of his still extant, where he defends the methods of Fr. De Nobili and shows how the customs tolerated were perfectly lawful. He insists over and over again that that was the only way of converting India. Both he and Fr. Robert were of opinion that a Seminary for Brahmins ought to be established in Madura. In a letter he demands that his superiors should send him 1,000 florins left to him by his father, and which he destines for the Seminary. He exults with joy at the reception of the Pope's Brief (*Romanae Sedis* of Gregory XV, 1623), and hastens

to communicate it to Fr. De Nobili, who is then working at Salem. "God be praised that things are taking a good turn."

11. Results

The statistical craze in our own days has reached the limit. Some Officials are not satisfied with ordinary census returns, but they want to know the most minute details, such as the number of confessions heard, of communions distributed, of sermons preached, to how many people, whether lay or religious, men or women, and so on and so forth. We do not blame the Curias for demanding statistics, but for demanding too much. They simply defeat their object, and more often than not their imposing columns, bristling with numbers, are not history, but pure invention. Statistics there were even at the beginning of the seventeenth century, for they are a necessity in all well-organized work. But the historian must needs use his discretion in reading them, as future historians will need much discernment in reading the statistics of our day.

Some, for instance, counted Fr. De Nobili's conversions by thousands as they counted by millions the conversions of St. Francis Xavier. Well, how many were they?

In 1607, six months after the beginning of the mission, the number of converts was 10. By the end of 1609 they were 63. Then about 15 fell away. Fr. Fernandez, the keen opponent of Fr. De Nobili, wrote that in 1611 they were 150. Then came Fr. Pero's prohibition to receive new converts, so there was none from 1612 to 1616. After the prohibition was removed conversions were more numerous. In 1623 Fr. De Nobili left Madura and went to Sadamangalam, capital of the state of Ramachandra Nayaker, where he was received with great solemnity. He did not stop there, but went on to the Salem District, which was under Salapatti Nayaker. The reception was bad. They had no use for the foreign *Sanyassi*. For forty days he lived in a miserable hut, and fell sick. Some-one, feeling pity on him, took him into his house. He was cured. People flocked to see him. There were extraordinary cures; then conversions; then persecutions again. Finally Christianity was established in Salem and among the

Catechumens was Tirumalai Nayaker, brother of Rama-chandra, the Rajah of Sadamangalam.

In 1625 a Prince and four of his children were baptised, in spite of opposition and persecution. Also the Prince's mother was learning the catechism. At the beginning of the same year Fr. Vico in Madura baptised a Prince and his wife. God blessed them. One of his daughters by his first wife, who was dumb, began to speak. His second wife, who had no children, became a mother. On Maundy Thursday one Baptism, six more after Easter, four again after Pentecost. A Brahmin, his wife and six children were baptized. In 1626 the Prince of Sadamangalam's mother is still a Catechumen, but her faith is really admirable.

A Tamil Pundit is converted and his example induces a great number of his pupils to imitate him. Eighty-three were taken by him to the Father in order to receive instruction.

And so the tale goes on. The numbers are not spectacular, but the work is steady. Where formerly it was a barren jungle, now it is a garden with flowers and fruits.

As to the converts' worth we have the testimony of Fr. Buccerio, who later on turned against De Nobili. He writes as follows: "I observed in that Christian Community two other things well worthy of the highest praise and exceedingly rare in India, among those who wish to become Christians. I may speak from experience, for during my long apostolate the Lord sent me many to be instructed and baptized. Those who thus present themselves generally come to us either because of the interest they find in joining Christians of their caste or owing to the difficulties they experience in remaining pagans or Mohammedans, or because they hope to secure some temporal advantage, or for other interested motives. For these reasons they are often the cause of great difficulties to us. What can we give to them? How are we to clothe and protect them? At the same time we have to give them many instructions in order to teach them to purify their intention, and to make them understand that in our religion alone can they find salvation. But by contrast, I observe that in the Community of Fr. Robert those new Christians have come with no other end in view than their salvation; also after having attended during several months the instructions of the Ayer (Fr. De

Nobili), when they understand that our religion is the only true one; they ask to be baptized and to be made Christians, solely to please God, and to save their souls. The Ayer has never to give anything to his Christians; it is rather they, who, on the day of their baptism, are wont to present the Ayer with some little offerings for the use of his Church or for other similar objects.

"We, on the contrary, are all our life long beset with cares and anxieties to find out how much we may help our Christians, who are continually begging. Some of them have even come all the way from Cape Comorin to this city, in order to approach me for some help. The second thing which I always tried, though in vain, to make both Christians and Pagans understand, is that our Religion is no more the religion of the Portuguese than of any other nation, and that by becoming a Christian an Indian does not lose his honour or his caste, but rather keeps all the honour he had and adds to it the much greater glory of becoming an adopted son of God. But it is useless for us to speak to them in that way, we fail entirely to convince them; those who come to us are invariably regarded by Christians and Pagans alike as joining the caste of the Pranguis or Portuguese, or that of the Paravars, according to the nature of the converts; and the Pagans look down upon us in the matter of caste, as being below everything. In consequence, respectable pagans or even the Christians of St. Thomas refuse to admit those converts into their houses or to their Churches.

"Fr. Robert has obtained totally different results. Hence though both Christians and Pagans well know that the law he preaches is the same as that of the Portuguese, as is proved by the crosses, and other pious objects which those Christians wear in place of the images of their gods, the Christians have the satisfaction of being assured that the Father is not a Prangui, and the Pagans, who have the same conviction, are appeased and have no difficulty in dealing with the Christians in all civil matters."

12. The Pandaraswamis

The development of the faith among the low castes, and the difficulties for the Fathers of working among them, were

a source of great anxiety. After a long thought they hit on the plan of creating a new category of missionaries, whose chief work was to be among the low castes. They were called *Pandaraswamis*.

While the Brahmin missionaries dressed in white, the Pandaraswami dressed in *cavi* or yellow-ochre.

The first Pandaraswami was Fr. Balthasar da Costa, who had landed in India in 1623. He had been destined to teach Theology, but his prayers and tears made the Superiors yield, and he was allowed to join the Madura Mission.

From Madura he went to Karur, where he built a church and baptized 70 Pariahs (July 1640) but he was ordered back to Madura where the persecution had broken out, where old and blind Fr. De Nobili and his companion Fr. Menja, were in prison.

In Trichinopoly Fr. Manuel Martins was horribly treated and finally expelled from the city. He found refuge at Satiamangalam.

Later on (1644) Fr. Da Costa baptized over 600 Catechumens in Satiamangalam. They were all of high caste. The Brahmins persecuted them, but the Rajah stopped the trouble.

He baptized also 70 people in Tanjore and built a church for them.

Meanwhile Fr. De Nobili, having being expelled from his church lived in a miserable hut, and, though blind and old, spent his time in dictating his works, so full of doctrine and unction.

In 1645 he was sent to Jaffna, that he might pass in comfort the last years of his life but, he was longing for his mission, and after two years was sent back there. There were apostasies in Madura among the high castes; but they cannot have been very numerous, for the Christians numbered 300 in 1644, and 350 in 1646.

The number of Catechumens in Trichy was 500, and we are told that the Christians were in the habit of receiving the Sacraments every eight days.

We shall not describe here the last years of Fr. De Nobili, and how he died in Mylapore in 1656. This is not the history of his life, but merely a sketch of his methods in missionary work.

He was in the true sense of the word a pioneer. He broke the barriers of Hinduism and Brahmin exclusivism. He so presented Christianity to India as to enable the missionary to penetrate into the enemy's camp. He forced open the gate of the fort. As late as 1710 the Jesuit Fathers were admitted into Brahmin houses, where they could speak to the heart of Hinduism.

And now? A certain influence we still have, mainly through our Colleges. But it is not directly Christian and Catholic. As far as this is concerned, a chasm seems to exist between us and the Hindus. Will it ever be crossed? The importance of Fr. De Nobili's work did not lie in the number of conversions. The opinion that he converted thousands is legendary. Similarly, it is wrong to say that he worked for Brahmins exclusively. But he began to work systematically, and with a well-defined plan, for them. The plan was not perfect from the beginning, but he perfected it as he gained experience.

He had to suffer; but God had given him strength of will, independence of views, longanimity and patience. He had many enemies. Some fought him with the cruel energy of those who think they fight the battles of God. But he had friends as well. The gentle Fr. Vico, the eagle-eyed Fr. Laerzio, and the strong, loyal Archbishop Roz.

We have introduced this chapter mainly to show how Don Francis worked for Fr. De Nobili's cause. Then we were, so to say, carried away by the subject, so that we nearly lost sight of the goal. Now we come back to it, and we shall conclude by illustrating more in detail the

13. Relations of Don Francis Roz with the Society

In the preceding chapter we have quoted a letter of Don Francis to Fr. Aquaviva. From the expressions of love and reverence towards the General, we can gauge the feelings of the great Missionary towards the Society. He was ever loyal, and strongly attached to the mother, who had received him, a young lad of eighteen, and formed him in the spiritual life, who had given him unparalleled opportunities to work for the glory of God and of the Church.

When he was created Archbishop, and had the power and the means to help, he did much for the Jesuits.

In a letter to Fr. Vitelleschi (21st November 1619) he writes as follows: "In order to procure the good of souls I have given all I had for the foundations of the College of Cranganore. For 7,000 pardaos we bought a good piece of land. Besides I have secured a good income for the maintenance of the Fathers, so that they may learn the language and work among the Christians. I have made a gift to the Society of a church ready made, and all that is needed to build another. For they (the Christians?) demolished the first, because the style was different from theirs. I have also given the best and most extensive gardens in Cranganore, besides money and timber, to help the construction of the wing where the Fathers live.

"If I had more I would give more. That your Rev. be pleased, in the name of St. Ignatius, to accept my good will. But here the custom is that when we have little, we work much for the salvation of souls. But when we are well provided, we forget the good beginnings. That is why I beg of your Rev. to oblige in conscience the higher Superiors, and the Rectors of the College of the Serra always to keep some ready to go and give Missions, teach catechism, and work for the sanctification of the Clergy.

"Let them not make of this College a house for the old, or for the sick."

As can be seen from the last lines, the Bishop's cares were mainly for his flock. For them he wanted the services of the best Fathers. Thus Fr. Laerzio had to grant him Fr. De Brito, who was first Rector in Cranganore, and put in his place Fr. Simon De Sa, who, as the Provincial dryly remarks "had not the least talent for the past". Later on Fr. De Brito will again be taken away from the Archbishop to be made Rector at Cochin. In fact it seemed to Don Francis that Cochin and the Portuguese received by far the best from the Society, while the Serra was a little neglected. So he complained to Fr. Assistant that the Superiors, "refuse to provide for this Diocese, however much I have begged them. Why am I not a monk or an Armenian? Then the Fathers would

do for me what I ask. But I am always with them, I cannot leave them, and that is why things are as they are. I wish it; the Christians wish it, but the Fathers do not. A time will come when the Fathers will wish it; but neither the Archbishop then, nor the Christians will. And so your Rev. and our Father should see to it that the commands of obedience are executed.

"For Fr. General ordered that six Fathers should be given to me. But they have given me only two and one of them is now still teaching in Cochin."

After praising Frs. Stephen De Brito and Christopher D'Abreu the Archbishop says: "Insist with Fr. General that he send workmen to this vineyard.

"Thus the monks will have no reason to speak. They scour the Diocese; they go up to the very top of the Ghauts; but somehow they do not succeed." This was the great fear of the Archbishop, that the Serra might be taken away from the Society and given a Franciscan or Dominican Pastor. Lest Rome should be too slow, he wanted that they should give him a Coadjutor *cum jure successionis*. Thus, in case of death, the Serra would be provided for.

He had his eyes on Fr. Julius Cæsar Calligari, who knew the language well, and seemed endowed with all the gifts to make a good Bishop. The Father was in Cranganore, when the Provincial Francis Pero removed him to St. Andrew's. The pretext was that the young Calligari was strongly pro-Italian, and favoured the Mission of Fr. De Nobili (1). Don Francis was deeply wounded, but had to acquiesce. Before knowing Fr. Calligari he had thought of Fr. De Brito as his possible successor. In fact even as early as 1607 he asked Fr. General to give him Fr. De Brito as Coadjutor *cum jure successionis*. "It is true that he does not know Syriac, but he knows Malayalam, and has great talents for the cultivation of the Christians. He is loved by all, and especially by the Archdeacon. He is patience itself, very prudent, and very steady in virtue. If then Your Rev. and the whole Society desire to see this Christianity flourish, Fr. Stephen must be chosen as Bishop, and no other. It is plain that the Franciscans and the Bishop of Cochin are straining every nerve

to have one of theirs nominated. If they succeed, I call to witness heaven and earth, that the fault will be of nobody else, except the Society's". At the time his demand was not acceded to, though after his death, it was not Fr. Calligari, but Fr. Brito that was chosen Archbishop of Cranganore.

14. Death of Archbishop Don Francis Roz

On the 16th February 1624 died Don Francis Roz, first Latin Archbishop of Cranganore.

We know that, before dying, he had the consolation of seeing his flock united again. When he died he was 67 years old, of which he had lived 49 in the Society. Fra Paolino da San Bartolomeo on September 10th 1785 found the slab of his tomb in Palur "in the porch of the Church of Sts. Gervase and Protase, in which church Roz lived; for, on account of the continuous wars he could stay neither in Angamale nor in Cranganore".[4]

Raulinus in his *Historia Eccl. Malab.*, p. 19, says: "Francis Roz had in an eminent degree all the gifts which Pope Clement wanted in a Bishop: virtue, doctrine, prudence. He knew both Malayalam and Syriac. Moreover, he was most acceptable to the Thomas Christians". As we have said, Archbishop Roz translated into Syriac, for the use of his flock, the Roman Missal for Ash Wednesday and Holy Week. In Malayalam he composed a *"Doctrina Christiana"*. The Menologists of the Society affirm that besides Syriac and Malayalam he knew also Tamil. That is confirmed by an expression we find in the letter on Fr. De Nobili, where Don Francis says that he had read (presumably in Tamil) the main works of the Hindus. De Guilhermy in his Menology praises Fr. Roz for having ever been faithful to the rules and customs of the Society and for not having allowed his dignity to obscure his virtues as a Religious.[5]

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[4] *Orientalia Christiana. Romae*, 1794, p. 62.

[5] *Assistance d'Espagne; Prem. Partie* XVIII, Fevrier.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

1 *From* JOHN MARY CAMPORI *to* V. R. FR. GENERAL (*2nd December 1615*).

(*Extract*)

"We had at Vaipicota F. Julius Cæsar Caligari, a man beloved by all and who had fully realized how best to succeed in the Mission.

"The Archbishop (Francis Roz) asked the Provincial to be allowed to have the Father along with F. Stephen De Brito. The Provincial not only refused, but, on mere groundless suspicions, took the Father away from the Mission in a way rather rough and rude and appointed him at St. Andrew's. He imagined that, at the instigation of some person, the Archbishop was asking for the Father, and as an excuse for that refusal, he denounced the Father as a man of strong national spirit, who had shown himself too well disposed towards the Madura Mission.

"When opening his conscience to his Superior Fr. Caligari had many a time asked to be reprehended for his faults, so that as, even granting that the Father had been inprudent, the Fr. Provincial should have warned him with kindness in private. But instead he suddenly denounces him to the Archbishop as a man full of national prejudices—for which fault no other proof is brought but the affection of the Father for the Madura Mission—and in a very severe letter by way of punishment, he removes him from the Mission. This conduct grieved much both the Archbishop and the Father, and it was an occasion of scandal to Ours.

"The Father did not complain, and although the climate of St. Andrew does not suit him, he is quite determined to die in the place assigned to him by obedience."

We add here a summary of

Father De Nobili's Instruction of the Manner and Method of Preaching the Faith

(*a*) The good teacher of the Religion which God has designed to reveal to mankind, must adapt himself and his method to the character and condition of the inquirers that approach him.... For, if a doctor gives the patient a very good medicine but without diagnosing the sickness, he will not cure the man, but may even increase the sickness; similarly if a spiritual teacher gives the best medicine of holy doctrine without diagnosing the sickness of the soul he will not cure the soul of its sickness of sin, but rather increase the number of its sins. ... To expose doctrines more precious than diamonds to men worse than animals is to induce obdurate sinners to blaspheme God. This is like giving milk to poisonous serpents.

There are five classes of people who may approach the spiritual teacher for instruction: The first class of those who come to the spiritual teacher just only to find fault with him and abuse his doctrine. The second class ... come merely to examine what is taught, without the least desire to be converted. ... The third class come to the teacher ... simply to laugh at him and his doctrine.

The fourth class come to him with the desire and hope of temporal advantages. Finally the fifth class come with a strong determination to embrace the faith taught by the spiritual teacher, if it proves true. How to deal with these various people?

To the first class the teacher should not expose the divine mysteries, but answer their objections, and prove in a general way that he is not teaching error.

The second class are like children who are amused at everything they see, and do everything for their own amusement; they do not care for their souls' salvation. In these we must tend to rouse an earnest desire to be saved.

As to the third class, they must be told that death is certain, that there must be a Lord and Ruler of this world, that he is infinitely just, that he must deal out with an impartial hand reward and punishment .... If they do not believe so far, then to instruct them in other mysteries would be against well-ordered prudence.

With the fourth class proceed very cautiously. Find out their real motives.... Teach them the certainty of death, the circumstances which attend death, the eternity of hell, and try to make them give up their questionable motives and act with a right intention.

Teach the fifth class all the mysteries necessary for salvation, but teach with method, and according to the mental capacity of the disciples ... If the spiritual teacher imparts this food of instruction day by day in due measure, the mind of the disciple will assimilate it; and just as nourishment assimilated by the body strengthens the man to walk, so also this religious instruction, grasped and assimilated by the disciple, will strengthen him to walk in the way of truth.

(*b*) Some more rules are to be borne in mind in the teaching of religion. The spiritual teacher must expose the mysteries he teaches in the proper way; explain the nature of the mystery prove it with telling arguments and illustrate it ... He must be capable of solving all difficulties, otherwise he will be like a man who is called a doctor, but does not know how to give the proper medicine. The spiritual teacher must insist that only the religion taught by God is the way of salvation, not religions invented by men. Just as a mother tells her child that milk is good and poison bad and deadly, so also the spiritual teacher, who is kinder to the disciple than a mother is to her child, points out to him that the true religion is the only one to be accepted, and that all other religions are like poison and must be abandoned.... However, only ignorant preachers will require an unbeliever to believe them as soon as they say

they are going to teach the true religion. If unbelievers do believe so, they are wrong. For the ignorant man cannot, without a miracle or a cogent argument believe the preacher's words without committing a sin .... Abuse of any kind is not the way to teach the true religion; we know by experience that it leads only to bitterness of heart... When a man is bilious the sugar on his tongue is bitter, as also when an unbeliever hates a preacher, whatever holy doctrine he may teach, as the unbeliever listens to it with bitterness, that doctrine will not appeal to him, but will repel him.

Let the spiritual teacher know that he is an instrument in the hands of God. God's only Son, the true Preacher, writes his letter of faith in the soul of the sinner. He does it with the help of the preacher, who is like a pen in his hands. As a letter cannot be written by the pen alone without the writer, so also, without the grace of God, the preacher—let him try as he may—will not write any letter in the heart of the sinner.

N.B.—Besides the numerous letters quoted in the text, see Fr. J. Castet's *The Madura Mission* and De Nobili's *Missionary Method* (I.C.T.S., Trichinopoly, 1935); Fr. H. Heras, S.J., *The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara* (B. G. Paul & Co., Madras, 1927), Ch. XVIII.

CHAPTER XIII

THE SECOND LATIN BISHOP OF THE THOMAS CHRISTIANS: DON ESTEBAN DE BRITO, S.J.

(1624–1641)

1. Successors to Don Francis Roz

Fr. Alegambe, quoted by Fr. Paoline in his *India Or. Christ.*, states that in 1617 Fr. Jerome Xavier, the nephew of St. Francis, who had worked at the Court of the Great Moghul, was chosen to be Archbishop of Cranganore upon Don Francis Roz's death, but died in the same year. Fr. Francis Bareto, however, who in 1645 issued a report in Rome on the state of the Church in Malabar, makes no mention of Fr. Xavier. Guzman in his *Historias de Las Missiones, S.J.* (1.143, Alcala) says that Philip III had chosen Fr. Xavier Coadjutor *cum jure successionis*, but since he died, Fr. Stephen Brito, who was highly esteemed by the Thomas Christians, was appointed Coadjutor to Archbishop Roz with the right of succession, and nominated Bishop of Tagarte, i.p.i. in 1620.

Don Esteban was born in the Diocese of Evora in 1565, had entered the Society of Jesus in 1582, and from his arrival in India, had spent all his life among the Syrian Christians, who loved him dearly. He knew Malayalam but not Syriac, and Archbishop Roz, who had often asked him for his successor, considered that to be a very serious deficiency.

The Annual Letter of 1626 says of him: "The most Rev. Archbishop of Cranganore, who is staying with us, gives numerous proofs of humility and of all virtues. He lives in peace and harmony with the Archdeacon... In Vaipicota he has 20 pupils in his Seminary, and all are very fervent."

But a private letter of Fr. Andre Pereira to Fr. General (24th December 1926) sings a different tune. It is as follows: "The new Archbishop of Cranganore does not begin well with the Society. Our hopes were quite different. He is so friendly with his Archdeacon that there is room to fear some storm for

the Christians of the Serra. The Archdeacon has allied himself with the Friar who aspires to become Archbishop of the Serra, and we know it for certain that he gives plenty of wine to the King of Cochin to make him write in his favour to the King of Spain.

"Our Archbishop is united with the Friar, and we are afraid some trouble will arise. It will be necessary that Your Paternity should treat with the King of Spain, in order that a successor be immediately found for the Archbishop. For if the Christianity of the Serra were to be deprived of Jesuit Missionaries, it would go backwards, not to say that it will be completely ruined." Was this a vain fear, arising from jealousy or from some other unworthy motive, or was it a clear view of the future, revealed by past experience and by a realisation that the Archbishop's kindness was exceeding the bounds of prudence? We shall allow the events to speak for themselves.

Don Francis Roz, a short time before his death, thus wrote to Fr. General about his successor: "I regret that Fr. De Brito has never applied himself to the study of Chaldean. Your Paternity should advise him now seriously to do so, under pain, otherwise, of bringing sadness both on himself and on his Christians, because he will not be able to celebrate the divine offices in their manner, and he will need an interpreter, who will often deceive him.

"He must have a universal intelligence to govern his Christians well. He must know their errors and their rites well, so that, if some Nestorian or Antiochian wolf should come amongst them, he may be able to recognise him and drive him out.

"And above all, when God shall have called him to govern the Church, let him distrust the Archdeacon; for, without the Father perceiving it, he will render him odious to the Christians, who will begin to fear lest the Father should govern them only according to the Archdeacon's schemes.

"The Archdeacon will certainly take his revenge on those who will obey their Prelate and will thus be against the Archdeacon. For, though I have reconciled this man, I know by experience that he falsely attributed faults to those who resisted him and obeyed me. Thus he would try to force me to

punish them, and get them in his hand so that, should he rebel once again, they would, moved by fear, side with him. He is a man unfaithful and false even to his kith and kin. The very Pagans know this by experience. I wrote all this to Your Paternity that you may know how matters stand, and warn Fr. De Brito to give up his wrong notions about this individual." So far Don Francis Roz. But the new Archbishop's policy would be different. Kindness and charity would be its guiding motive, and charity conquers everything. . . . Yes, except the hearts of perverse men.

2. The Dominicans in the Serra

Barely four years had passed since the death of Don Francis Roz, when his prophecies began to be fulfilled. He had always opposed the entrance of other religious orders in his Diocese, for he knew that that would have brought about division. And so indeed it was. In a letter to Fr. General (11th May 1628) Don Estevao complains that the Dominicans are invading the Serra, and he begs of Fr. General to obtain an order from the Holy See to make them withdraw. They have opened a Church at Caturte, which causes trouble. The Christians are divided. Cassanars have come to blows in public, to the great scandal of all. Here we have no jails. Rebellious Christians are expelled from the Church, but they are received by these good Friars. All this will provoke revolt. "I have protested to the Captain of Cochin and to the Administrator of the Diocese (for the Bishop was then Governor of Goa), and to all the Superiors of the Order, who are at Cochin, quoting Canon Law and showing that Regulars may not open a Church in a Diocese without leave from the Ordinary. I could have excommunicated them, but I took care not to do it, from the moment I knew that they had decided to disregard it. To gain the favour of the Pagan King they have not hesitated to pay him heavy bribes, they have even put his portrait in the Church, to the great scandal of the Christians, who ask themselves if they have to worship him. What must the Pagans think who believe that their Kings are Saints, and obtain bliss by right? More, these Fathers say publicly that the Prior has come from Babylon, and is one of the Counsellors of the Patriarch of Babylon. The lie has gone

round the Mission. Much less is needed to excite these people, who are always leaning towards Babylon.... I would have been most happy to have helpers in the vineyard. But alas! They have not come to help; quite the contrary."

On the 28th of January 1629 the Archbishop addressed Propaganda on the same matter. He says that the peace of his Diocese has been disturbed because a Dominican has come, who asserts that he has been sent by Propaganda to preach the faith. "His goal was to go to the lands and islands near Malacca. But, having lost the desire of navigating so far, he has stopped here. And without leave, nay, in spite of protestations on the part of the Ordinary, has begun to build a Church. There is division now among the faithful. Some think he is an Armenian, others a relative of Mar Abraham, others again an envoy of the Patriarch of Babylon. For they are always on the alert to know if they are going to have a Prelate like those who have governed them for centuries. The Prior of Cochin has strongly disapproved of the intrusion of his subject notwithstanding the prohibition received from the Visitor of the Dominicans at Goa.

"One may ask: What will be the result of the Dominicans' staying here among the Christians of the Serra? Can they be useful to maintain the faith, and for the salvation of souls? I answer: Elsewhere, perhaps, the multiplicity of labourers will be beneficial. In this country it is just the opposite.

"(a) The Thomas Christians live scattered in various pagan Kingdoms. Their Bishop has no coercive power over them. They obey only in what they like. In other things they appeal to the authority of their pagan kings. A fortiori will they do the same with different Religious Orders. It is to plunge them into schism to which they are inclined.

"(b) Even if these Religious were to live in perfect charity with the Religious of the Society, the Christians would soon be divided into two parties, based on differences of habit, of method, of spirit, etc. It cannot be denied that up to the present it is the Jesuits who have got this Christianity out of schism and heresy, and who have cultivated it chiefly through Missions, and at the price of extreme labours and fatigue.

"(c) Perhaps they will write to the S. Congregation that the Serra is in need of apostolic labourers and that the Sacraments are not duly administered. It is not so. For, besides the Jesuits, who carry *pondus diei et aestus* in the Missions, there are more than three hundred Priests who have been formed by the Fathers, and who know how to administer the Sacraments properly; I add that a kind of Congregation has been established among the Secular Priests, in order to fulfil the functions of the sacred Ministry better.

"For all these reasons I demand of the Sacred Congregation that the Religious of St. Dominic should leave immediately the church and the convent which they have opened in the Serra, in spite of the Archbishop of Cranganore."

3. The Archdeacon

The Archdeacon at the beginning of Don Estevao's rule kept quiet. Don Estevao loved him, and confided in him more than some of the Fathers would have liked. But he found out to his cost that the man could not be trusted. The prophecy of Fr. Roz had to be fulfilled. Don Frey Sebastian de S. Pedro, Archbishop of Goa, had heard of some acts of insubordination of the Archdeacon, and had written to him a letter of reprimand. Soon afterwards Don Estevao writes as follows to Frey Sebastian. The letter was written at the beginning of 1630, when the Primate was already dead. But the Archbishop did not know it. He says: "With regard to the Archdeacon, who shall describe the continual and obstinate revolts by means of which he held this mission in a state of insubordination against its Pastor? At times he made the latter's position intolerable. Now during the six years that I have governed this Church, in spite of the fact that I have always done all in my power to conciliate him in everything that was not against my conscience, I find him as rebellious and as little submissive as he has ever been in the past. Several times already I have been on the point of breaking with him, unable to suffer any longer his innumerable lies and the wickedness with which he pursues me without rime or reason. This conduct is so strange on his part that a Religious exclaimed in my presence that it had no excuse; for throughout the whole of the Serra it is known with what kindness I have treated him. But his ambitions and plans do not stop here. What he is plotting at this moment is that the Bishopric

of the Serra be given to the Religious of another Order. The idea at the back of his mind is that, if only the Jesuits could be got rid of, it would be easy to get again the Babylonian Prelates, whom he has always been hankering after. Thus he has now allied himself with Frey Manuel de Populo, to whom he has given his own authority and a general mandate to treat of the affairs of this Mission outside. He knows very well that this Friar will never oppose him in anything he might do, good or bad, in favour of our Religion or against. I ask of Your Lordship to note well the boldness and insolence of the Archdeacon to give to Frey Manuel an authorisation which is absolutely null and void. For how can the Archdeacon give such a mandate without the knowledge of the head and Pastor of this Diocese? The more so that he has on his side only five or six Catenars, quite untrustworthy with regard to their faith. Thus it is the limit of temerity to say that this Populo is the Procurator of this Mission. Whoever should dare to encourage such pretensions ought to be punished as a forger. Besides I do not disguise the fact that, should Frey Manuel ever succeed in his plot, I shall not have the courage to enter into a struggle with him, when all opposition offered him by the Fathers of the Society would have ceased."

When the poor Archbishop wrote this letter the machinations had been going on for some time. In 1628 the Archdeacon had written a strong letter to the Papal Envoy in Lisbon against the Jesuits. They could boast of not a single martyr, they had no success in the conversion of the heathen, they jealously kept away all other Religious Orders. He asked that other Religious should be allowed to enter the Serra, and suggested the name of Fr. Francis Donato, O.P., as a prospective Coadjutor to the Archbishop.*

The letter was forwarded to Rome, where a Congregation of Cardinals on September 16, 1630, passed orders that other

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* NOTE.—Fr. Donato belonged to the noble family of the Donati in Florence. He had built a Church in Caturte dedicated to Our Lady. In 1634 he set sail for Europe to report to Pope Urban VIII on the affairs of the Serra. But he was killed by the Moors on the sea opposite to Udipi. We shall speak again of him in the chapter on the *Martyrs*.

Religious Orders should be admitted into the Serra, that more native Priests should be ordained and that Fr. Donato should be consecrated Bishop *in partibus*. Again the Archdeacon, on December 19th 1632, sent a memorial to the King against the Archbishop. We have seen what view the Archbishop took of these manouvres, and the reasons why he opposed the entry of other Religious into the Serra.

4. The Rapolim Meeting

As to the proposed increase of secular Priests, the following will clarify the policy of the Archbishop. On 27th January 1627, met at Rapolim the Archbishop Don Estevao de Brito, the Archdeacon George De Cruz, three Jesuit Fathers from Cranganore and the Provincial, Fr. Laerzio. The question to be discussed was how to regulate the ever-increasing number of Priests in the Serra. The first to speak was the Archdeacon who said that the number of Cassanars and Chamazes was now over three hundred. This number vastly exceeded their needs, for they had only to provide for about seventy-five churches and as many thousand Christians. Hence several clerics had not the means to live, with what disastrous results everybody could see.

The matter was threshed out and the following decisions were arrived at:

(*i*) All Vicars were expressly forbidden to take into their service children dressed as clerics, to whom they taught Syriac in order to prepare them for the Priesthood.

(*ii*) The Authorities of the Seminary at Vaipicota were not to receive children, who were destined to the Priesthood, and who had to wear clerical dress. The children who were received had to be strictly tested. All were to be taught to read and write in Malayalam, Christian Doctrine, devotion to the Blessed Sacrament, respect for Priests and things pertaining to the Church, good morals and good manners. A few amongst them, who were more pious, who showed greater inclination to virtue—especially the virtue of chastity—who belonged to the most respectable families, could be chosen for the clerical state. These, in addition to their ordinary dress, could wear the *cola* (kind of white soutane), and be taught Syriac. The others, after five or six years of life in the

Seminary, had to be sent back to their families, where they would eventually marry and become excellent Catholics in the world.

5. The Recollecta

In one of the preceding letters the Archbishop speaks of a kind of Religious Congregation among the Clergy of the Serra. The matter was as follows: About the time of the Rapolim meeting, probably with a view to find some work for the surplus Catanars and Chamazes, the Visitor, Fr. Andre Palmeyro and the Provincial, Fr. Laerzio, thought of establishing a *Recollecta* or House of Seclusion at Repolim. The idea was to give them a more complete formation, both spiritual and theological, so that the Serra also might have its Oblates, as St. Charles had founded in Milan. Thus the Jesuits, whose work was more urgently needed elsewhere, could be gradually withdrawn and their work taken up by the Recollects. Fr. Antonio Toscano was placed in charge of the new house, and the Priests were given an appropriate rule and a habit distinct from that of the Malabar Priests.

But Malabar was not yet ripe for a religious congregation. In a letter (18th December 1629) to the Assistant of Portugal, Don Estavao complains that so far only a few Priests—nine or ten—have joined. That they have no inclination for such a life: too much penance, prayers and offices too long, life too secluded.

In fact, throwing the rules to the winds, and disregarding the directions of their superior, they often went out of the house, they held conventicles of their own, they resorted to the Archdeacon's place to plot there against the Archbishop. For, were they not Religious? And if they were Religious, were they not exempt? And, if they were exempt, what right had the Archbishop, or the Jesuits to rule over them? For a time the novelty of the thing commanded some respect, but soon they were found out. The people had no respect for them; Priests refused to join them. Their numbers dwindled to two or three. One was Procurator and so he had to travel about to procure alms for the house. The other was Superior, and so he was not bound to live in it. They had the Choir; but to fulfil their obligation they got a few children together,

and made them sing some Syrian prayers in the Church. A Catenar was suspended by the Archbishop. Of course, he found a home amongst the Recollects, who allowed him to administer the Sacraments. They helped the Archdeacon to send a petition to the King asking that they might be given a Chaldean Bishop once more. When once the Archbishop refused them a favour they had asked of him, they had the impudence to call him a powerless old man. They were going to show him how things were done; and thus they began to write to Pope and King innumerable lies against him.

6. Fr. Francis de Oliveira

The good Archbishop was saddened by other things. The Superiors of the Society could not grant him as many Priests as he would have liked to carry on missionary work among the Syrian Christians. They were only two and he needed five or six at least. He suggested to Fr. General to send two Jesuits to the School of the Maronites to learn Syriac so that, when they will come out to Malabar they will be ready to teach it at Vaipicota. He also demanded the appointment of a Coadjutor for himself, so that, should he die, a Jesuit would continue as Archbishop of the Serra.

But it was Fr. Oliveira, Rector of Cochin, who caused much grief to Don Estevao. The Father seems to have been a spy in the service of the Portuguese, watching on the movements of the Rajah of Cochin. Exaggerated nationalism blinded him so that he did not seem to be aware of the vileness of his work. But the Archbishop was ashamed of it. The Superiors agreed with the Archbishop, and managed to remove the erring Rector to Malacca. But De Oliveira had powerful friends and contrived to return. In fact the rumour was that he was working to succeed Don Estavao. We have not the means to check the truth of these accusations, which, if well established, show the dangers to which a Religious exposes himself when he dabbles in Politics, and allows himself to become a tool in the hands of secular Rulers.

7. Virtual Abdication

Had Don Francis Roz had his way, Fr. Callegari would have succeeded him. But the Provincial, Fr. Pero, was against

that. Then the old Archbishop began to ask for Fr. De Brito, though he had his misgivings. Fr. De Brito's defect was an excess of kindness bordering on weakness, and weakness in those days in the Serra was fatal.

We have related some of the troubles of Don Estevao. Seeing himself attacked on every side, he thought that, by yielding, he would bring about peace. Cajoled by the cunning Archdeacon, after much hesitation, not fully realising what he was doing, he signed a paper wherein he abdicated—the word is not too strong—most of his powers to him. Thus he promised that he would not nominate, remove, or suspend any Vicar without the Archdeacon's consent. The Archdeacon's consent was required to excommunicate any person, and so on, through a long list of concessions. The Archdeacon had finally succeeded in getting back the old power the Archdeacons had under Babylon, when they were everything, and could do everything barring the conferring of Orders. One step more; get rid of the Jesuits, and victory will be complete. The Dominicans did not see that they were mere pawns in the clever game played by the old Archdeacon and his confederates, the pious Recollects of Repolim.

But the Archbishop soon realised what he had done. The passage of the Viceroy—Count of Linhares—through Cochin in 1636, seemed to be a heaven-sent opportunity for undoing the mischief.

The Count grasped the gravity of the matter, and well knowing that the Archdeacon was entirely dependent on the Rajah of Cochin, promised the Rajah rich gifts, if he would help. The Rajah was won over, and the Archdeacon was ordered to restore the written papers, wherein his faculties were contained. But the old fox was not to be outwitted so easily. He handed the papers back; but later on they were found to be only a copy; the original he kept to himself.

The Archbishop was overwhelmed with sorrow. A short time afterwards there shone a new ray of hope across the dark sky. The Archdeacon died. But then Don Estevao, true to his character, thinking he would thus win over the family of the dead man, appointed his nephew, Thomas de Campos, to succeed him. The Chronicler's comment cannot be translated: "De tal ovo nacque simil corvo."

Thomas was not yet thirty; his science was bad; his morals worse. Being in possession of the famous document, he insisted on its fulfilment, with what results one can easily imagine.

8. Fr. Francis Garcia is Appointed Coadjutor Bishop

In a letter of the 1st January 1633 Archbishop De Brito writes: "We have heard that they have chosen Fr. Garcia to be my Coadjutor *cum jure successionis*. I am glad, for he has great qualities, and henceforth I can be at ease with regard to the future of this Church. But I would have been happier had he been younger, to be able to learn the language and to acquire some experience of this people so different from the rest. . . . I am at peace with my Archdeacon, and I wish to keep it at all costs, for the spiritual good of this Church, whatever annoyance he may give me. For I have a long experience of the evils that will befall otherwise."

That was written in 1633. We know already that the peace with the Archdeacon was short-lived. From a letter of 1634 we learn that he gathered the Catanars together and made them swear to take an oath to have nothing to do with the Archbishop in the matter of dispensations, absolutions, etc. In 1636 there came the Viceroy, Count De Linhares, but that made matters worse.

The cross of Don Estevao was heavy indeed.

He had to suffer still more when he closed the Recollects' House at Rapolim (1634). The Archdeacon was strongly against it, but the Archbishop, supported by Don Francis Garcia, did not yield. He writes to Fr. General: "I did not yield, first because I wish to follow the advice of Your Paternity; second because I am convinced that this house is harmful to the interests of Christianity. . . . It is to be feared that other Religious will represent their case to Rome, quite different from what it is. It is for Your Paternity to ward off the danger, and see that they do not triumph. With the exception of five or six Churches which do not belong to the Archdeacon's caste, and which have not followed him in his rebellion, *we have no Christianity*, and the Fathers cannot go out to give Missions. . . . Let Your Paternity know that the

Archdeacon makes use of the Fathers of St. Dominic to make the schism successful."

I confess that my heart goes out to the poor old man, so good and so unhappy. He was indeed like an earthen pot destined to travel in a country cart in the company of many iron pots. What wonder that he was broken!

Matters would have been different had Don Francis Garcia come earlier on the scene. He was strong. But now his strength will not stop the tide.

The letter quoted above ends with a little personal matter, which is both a warning and a reproach to Superiors. The good Archbishop had set apart 2,000 Xeraphins for the dowry of a poor niece in Portugal. The money was remitted to the notorious Fr. De Oliveira, Rector of Cochin, who spent it for the College. The Archbishop begs of Fr. General to send the money to Portugal.

He died on 3rd December 1641. Of the stormy Episcopate of his successor we shall speak in the next volume.

CHAPTER XIV

THE JESUITS AT HOME

A CHRONICLE OF THE MALABAR PROVINCE OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS

(1611–1650)

I. PADRE FRANCISCO PERO

SECOND PROVINCIAL (1611–1615)

WHEN Fr. Francisco Pero was appointed, the number of subjects in the young Malabar Province was 136; when he died, three years later, it was 142.

In Cochin the Fathers were much loved, in spite of the Bishop's enmity. As we have seen elsewhere, it was Fr. Pero's good fortune to be able to make peace with Don Andre. Both were Portuguese and they understood each other.

In 1611 there were 58 Baptisms in Cochin. But the Annual Letter remarks that the conversions were few owing to two main reasons: the disguised, but persistent, opposition of the Rajah; and the impurity of the people.

Another remarkable event of Fr. Pero's Provincialate was the prohibition to Fr. De Nobili to carry on his Apostolate.

Both the peace concluded with the Bishop, and the obstacles put in the way of Fr. De Nobili's work have been dealt with elsewhere.

Fr. Pero's great predecessor, Fr. Laerzio, had been posted at Ponnani, where he remained for some years. Later on he will be made Master of Novices, and then Provincial again. Fr. Pero reacted strongly against his policy. He was a good man, but the brightness of the Portuguese star, dimmed in his eyes the splendour of other nations. He did not agree with the Spaniard Roz, Archbishop of Cranganore; he felt uneasy about Fr. Fenicio's work in Calicut. He greatly favoured the ministry among the Portuguese Communities along the Coasts, but hardly realized the little, in fact negligible, influence of the Church within the Indian Continent.

THE MEETING OF 1613

It was under the direction of Fr. Francisco Pero, that a meeting was held in Cochin to discuss the work of Evangelization. In giving a short account of it here we shall divide the matter into two sections, the first dealing with the means necessary for conversion work, the second with the obstacles.

(*a*) *Means.*—The first and foremost are the Missionaries. They must be picked men—said the Fathers at the meeting—men eminent in science and virtue, full of zeal, and having a perfect knowledge of the language spoken by the people, so that they will not be in need of an interpreter.

They must accustom themselves to the ways of the people and their social customs; and must avoid whatever the Indians loath in the Portuguese.

They must not seek themselves, or their own interests. They must show fatherly care and love.

At any price they must gain the esteem and protection of Rajahs and other powerful and influential men.

Superiors should not easily shift the Missionaries from one place to another.

Pray much, and offer up Masses for the conversion of souls. The question was then asked whether there was something to be mended among the Missionaries.

"All the members of this Congregation except Fr. Provincial, his Socius, the Rector of Cochin and one or two others, work in the Missions. Since they are professed, it is presumed that they have the requisite talents. Seven speak Malabar (Malayalam), four Tamil, four Chaldean and Syriac, two Badaga (Telugu). Some have lived twenty and thirty years in the Missions, and seem changed into Malabars or Paravers. Others have embraced the life of *Sanyassis.*

"No doubt, we are men, subject to error, but we try to realise the object of our Institute, and to correspond to what His Catholic Majesty demands of us."

(*b*) *Obstacles.*—They are manifold, and vary in different countries.

(1) On the Malabar Coast it is regrettable that we cannot penetrate into the interior, and have to be satisfied with working among the Mukuvars. The high castes would be degraded by embracing Christianity.

(2) *The low esteem* in which the Portuguese are held, because they eat beef. Perhaps, at the beginning, the Portuguese were responsible for this. For, when Christianity was preached to these people, they insisted on their giving up their marks of nobility. Hence the converts were despised.

For this there is no remedy. The Bisnagar King could not be persuaded to declare by public edict that one did not lose his caste by embracing Christianity. The difficulties met with by Fr. De Nobili have dissuaded the Bisnagar Fathers from imitating him.

(3) *In Cochin.*—If a man turns Christian, he is deprived by the King of all his lands, dignities and employment. Nothing else remains but to solicit King Philip's intervention.

(4) *King's Ministers.*—They could do much to favour or hamper conversion work, if they paid regularly the *Ordinaria* assigned by the King. Alas! the Missionaries often lack the bare necessities.

(5) *Vicars.*—We obtain conversions, and then deliver the converts to the Bishop's Vicars, who, not rarely, are new converts themselves.

They seek only their interest, and shear the lambs to the skin (literally *to blood*). Exorbitant tariffs for marriages and burials. It sometimes happens that fathers are obliged to sell their children, or to pawn them in order to bury their mother.

This of course, prevents conversions.

In Bengal there is a saying "*Minori pretio emi mancipium vivum, quam sepeliri mortuum, tam duri exactores sunt vicarii in sepeliendo*".

A Priest of the Christians of St. Thomas was Vicar at Tuticorin for several years. When he died he left 30,000 gold ducats.

Another, attached to a Church in Pegou for three years, left, according to his Bishop, 20,000 gold ducats; two others, 10,000 each. A Priest, who held the office of Visitator in Bengal, hoarded 14,000 ducats.

We have given this important document almost *verbatim.* The first part breathes the spirit of St. Francis Xavier, a spirit wholly supernatural, and burning with zeal.

To modern ears the last words may be jarring. "Thus"—the Fathers said—"we shall endeavour to correspond to what

this Catholic Majesty demands of us." But this Majesty of Spain and Portugal was really Catholic in those days. In spite of English misrepresentations, Kings Philip II and Philip III of Spain had nothing more at heart than the spreading of the Kingdom of Christ. The chief thing they expected from Missionaries was that, and the Missionaries' endeavour to meet their Majesties' wishes was noble, and right.

The second part speaks of the obstacles—and *first, caste.* The Brahmin then—as now—felt it was degrading for him to embrace the religion of foreigners.

Second, the attitude of Rulers towards the new converts. Some, like the Zamorin, the Rajah of Tanur and of Travancore, were tolerant—at least in words—but their tolerance was greatly modified by the narrow religious outlook of the people. And India—even now—though theoretically tolerant and broad-minded, looks actually with extreme disfavour upon those who change their religion. They are expelled from their families, and penalized in many ways. *Thirdly, the greediness of the Clergy.* The facts quoted make most painful reading. We neither hide them nor deny them, but we are happy to state that things have changed for the better now.

Fr. Pero died in 1615.

II. PADRE GASPER FERNANDEZ

THIRD PROVINCIAL (1615–1623)

He was born at Lamiega in 1564, and joined the Society in 1581. He accompanied Fr. Nicholas Pimenta in his visitation of Malabar (1609) and partly at least he shared his prejudices against the Italians. His term of office lasted over seven years.

1. His Difficulties with Archbishop Roz

He had considerable difficulties with Don Francis Roz, from whom he took away Fr. De Brito, in spite of the assurances given by Fr. General to the Archbishop.

The latter was also much grieved at the removal of Fr. J. C. Calligari from Cranganore. The Father knew Malayalam and Syriac; and was loved by the Thomas Christians.

He was accused of nationalism and of favouring the Mission of Madura, though Fr. Campori, the Archbishop's Secretary, believed the accusations to have been false.[1]

Fr. John De Souza had been sent to take Fr. Calligari's place, but the Archbishop would not have him. He was not pleased with Fr. Sebastian Dias either, who had great difficulties of pronunciation, and could not adopt the customs of the country.

Fr. Campori laments the lack of workers, and insists that there should be ten Fathers at least, occupied in giving Missions to the Christians of the Serra.

Two were constantly at work in the South. They had brought back to the obedience of the Archbishop several important families, to the great regret of the Archdeacon, who was again in full revolt.

The Archbishop was ever anxious to have more and more Fathers working among his flock, and saw with a certain amount of regret how many laboured among the Portuguese. On the other hand, the Portuguese could not be neglected.

The situation was analogous to present-day circumstances, when Superiors have to divide their men among Colleges and Missions, and distribute them partly in ordinary Parishes, and partly *ad paganos.*

2. Some Details about the Province

Cochin.—The letter of 1617 speaks of the great fruit the Community derived from its Annual Retreat. There were three Sodalities run by the Fathers, all working well. On the Feast of St. Ignatius 87 Baptisms, among them a Brahmin's. In 1618 great Procession of penance, for the destruction of Bassein.[2] The people marched bare-footed, and took the discipline.

At *Tanur* about 1,000 Christians, 85 Baptisms, construction of three Churches, and constant protection of the Rajah.

In the letter of 1620 we read that the Province was greatly tried; "and this"—adds the writer—"makes us hope that we are pleasing to God".

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[1] See preceding Chapter and Notes and Documents.
[2] Bassein had been destroyed by an earthquake.

In the same year the Provincial writes that the virtue and learning of the Fathers are as remarkable now as in the past. "We enjoy the esteem of all. Our Fathers hear more confessions than all the others put together."

At the College of Cochin "discipline is kept as well as possible. But if the Rector (Fr. Stephen De Brito) were stronger and had more experience, it would be kept even better. The formation of the Novices under Fr. Laerzio left nothing to be desired; such was his prudence, his fervour and his zeal. But Fr. Laerzio having left one year before for the Congregation, on the advice of Fr. Visitator, Fr. Toscano supplied him till Easter. Then came Fr. Gasper de Andrade. But the Novices still desire Fr. Laerzio. The studies have suffered somewhat, owing to the frequent change of Professors. These changes are inevitable when the Professors are incapable or have been put there by favouritism, as was Fr. Francis of Aragon.

Union and charity leave something to be desired. From the temporal point of view, the situation is very serious indeed. The Portuguese do no business. Hence no alms."

Reverting to Fr. Francis of Aragon, the Provincial notes that "his nature is impulsive and restless. In the College of Cochin they cannot stand him. Yet he is not without talent, zeal and courage. It will be good if Fr. General were to send him a serious warning. He is an obstacle to union between Italians and Portuguese. Still I believe the evil is not great". However, the Father was dismissed, then readmitted. He repeated his Noviciate and died at Quilon in 1632, 47 years of age.

Fr. Palmeiro, the new Visitator, thus wrote to Fr. Assistant N. Mascarenhas, on the 15th December 1619: "They will tell you that some Portuguese do not get on well with the Italians. ... Well, one thing which I often hear, and which I see with my own eyes, is a source of discord. It is generally believed that the Italians write to Rome to complain about the Portuguese, for every little trifle. ...

"When Fr. General sends his advice, they are even more convinced that it is so, and they say: "If you wish to live in peace, venerate the Italians." The matter is deplorable; but they are not cured: rather they get angry with all these advices from Rome. Let the Superiors do their duty." Perhaps Fr. Pero's reaction against Fr. Laerzio's policy had been excessive. The Archbishop used to say: "Had the Madura Mission been founded by a Portuguese, it would never have met with such opposition! Similarly Fr. Calligari would not have been taken away from Cranganore had he not been an Italian, and had he not favoured Fr. De Nobili."

3. Election of Fr. Laerzio to the Congregation

Fr. G. Fernandez thus wrote in 1619: "This was the first year when this Province had to send a Procurator to Rome. As usual, all those who had the *jus suffragii* were consulted. Almost all were of opinion that none should be sent; and that there should be no Provincial Congregation for the purpose; that it was more expedient to use the privilege granted by Fr. General to the three Provinces of Goa, Cochin and Japan—that is, that every three years one of them, by turns, should send a Procurator, so that each one will send its own every nine years. This resolution was taken in April and May.

"Meanwhile, the Bishop of Cochin had taken away from the Fathers of Ceylon the villages, whose revenues went to maintain the College. Such an important event made us reconsider the matter, and see whether we should send a Father to Portugal, elected by the Province. To avoid expenses, we held a partial Congregation *juxta formulam* 39, and Fr. Albert Laerzio was elected. His virtues and abilities are so well known that there is no need for me to recommend him. May God grant him the necessary strength to endure the privations and sufferings entailed by these long voyages.

"I do not enter into the details of the administration. Thank God the Province is *intus et foris* in a very satisfactory condition."

Not all, however, were of the opinion of Fr. Provincial. No doubt in his letter he told the truth, but not the whole truth. He discretely kept some details in the background, which however, were revealed by Fr. Palmeyro in a letter which he wrote from Cochin on the 19th December 1619.

"Fr. Albert Laerzio left for Goa a few days ago, to proceed thence to Portugal. What is being said after his departure

fills me with pain. And what is worse is that the Provincial himself, who is the principal author of this choice, says it publicly. There cannot follow but troubles and disunion. This Congregation has been a *conciliabulum*, not a *concilium*. Another time Fr. Laerzio had refused to accept the election; this time he said it to everybody that he would be appointed and that he had to go to Rome.

The Italian Fathers triumph."

Several others wrote to the Assistant for Portugal about Fr. Laerzio's election. They further demanded that the Malabar Province should be again subjected to Goa, their chief reason being "want of funds".

But the Italians, headed by Laerzio, were against it. In fact that was the reason why Laerzio had been so eager to be elected, and why the choice fell on him. They saw that reabsorption by Goa would mean decrease of Missionary work, concentration in Portuguese settlements, and they opposed it. We think they were right.

Fr. Palmeyro continues: "The common opinion is that the Superiors dare not contradict Fr. Laerzio or the Italians, because they take pains to make themselves heard . . . It is being said that Fr. Laerzio will bring orders from Rome to the effect that the higher Superiors will be Italians. Have they not this year made an Italian (Fr. Rubino) Rector of Colombo? When there is question of the Serra or of the Madura Mission, the Italians do not suffer anybody to have an opinion contrary to theirs".

Fr. Laerzio was the last man to deserve these aspersions. All admired him. They could not do without him. From the Archbishop to the Novices, all loved him. Even Palmeyro could not help showering praises on him. Yet exaggerated nationalism, and, perhaps, the petty feelings that small men are apt to nurse against giants, seriously threatened the peace of the Province.

On the whole, however, the ministry was carried on: the divisions were not allowed to cross the threshold of the house, and the traditional unity of the Jesuit front was not seriously impaired.

III. PADRE MANUEL ROIZ (RODRIGUEZ)

FOURTH PROVINCIAL (Nov. 1622–June 1623)

1. The Successors of Fr. Fernandez

Owing to the great distance and the difficulty of communications, it took a long time for the nominations of Superiors to come from Rome to India. Not infrequently the candidates died before the letters reached. Thus Fr. Francis de Cunha was dead when his nomination to the Provincial's office arrived.

The two others who had been named as his successors were dead as well. Then came Fr. James de Medeiros. In December 1620 thus wrote of him Fr. Palmeyro: "He is too bulky to be able to make the visitation of the Province. You will do well to prepare his successor".

In January 1621 Fr. Palmeyro wrote again: "Fr. de Medeiros has great repugnance to come down to this Province from Goa and he has begged some of the Goa Fathers to write to me. There is no difficulty in this: and I have said it. But I do not know whether I have the right to interefere, for the Father was not subject to me before his nomination. I ask for the solution of this doubt." Whilst they were waiting for an answer, Fr. Fernandez had to carry on. The situation lasted till the 20th of November 1622, when came the appointment of Fr. Manuel Roiz.

He wrote immediately to Fr. Assistant: "They have taken what they have found. It will be necessary that another should come to the rescue of the poor and the afflicted, unless death come first.

"For she has already knocked at my door. For my part, I have explained my unfitness to the Superiors, even for lesser appointments. What am I to say about this office? But since it has been our Lord's Will to put it on my shoulders, let us hope he will give me the strength I need to carry it. It is a heavy burden even for strong shoulders, in the sad times in which we live. How much more for me, so weak in virtue as in all the rest. That is why I beg of your Rev. in all earnestness to pray for me to the Lord that he may sustain me with his Holy grace."

Fr. Roiz was one of the best Fathers in the Province. Born in the Diocese of Euora, he had come to India in 1597. He had been at San Thome and Cochin (1601–02), then Socius to Fr. Laerzio (1603–06), then Rector, then Visitator (1610–11), then Rector at Malacca (1611), then Socius to the Visitator (1619–20), then Rector in Cochin (1622).

He knew the state of the Province well, and surely they could not have made a better choice. Unfortunately his Provincialate lasted only seven months.

2. The College of Cochin

Nothing remarkable took place during this short period. We find, however, some interesting things about the College of the Mother of God in Cochin.

Abundant alms had come to the College, and so the harassed Rector was able to pay some of its debts, and get back the church silver, which had been pawned.

One Francis Barbosa had left some legacies to the Church, with which they had bought a lamp worth 1,000 Xeraphins.

The same Barbosa had left silver for the candle-sticks, which, however, had not yet been made. "Strange" remarks Fr. G. Fernandez, from whose letter we take these details. "Strange! that when the College can hardly maintain the Fathers, they should spend so lavishly on the Church".

But lavishness and outward show was one of the traits of the sixteenth century Portuguese. We remember how, on the occasion of Fr. Pimenta's visitation, 6,000 cruzadoes were spent on a dramatic performance. Probably the money was a gift of some wealthy merchant, or it came from some fond mothers, who desired to see their little angels gorgeously dressed on the stage. Now another merchant offers a silver lamp and silver candlesticks to the Church. He will not listen to the Rector, who timidly hints at the great debts which burden the College. His heart is set upon the lamp. What does he care about debts, or even about the Fathers' fare? Besides, who has ever heard that Jesuits do not pay their debts to outsiders, or that they ever died of starvation?

In July came the news of the Canonization of St. Ignatius and St. Francis Xavier. Great rejoicings. The festivities, however, were delayed till December, for in July "we have winter here" or as we should say, the monsoon.

The festivities were held on a modest scale, for the College "is heavily in debt".

The first day Don Francis Roz was the preacher. The second day we find to our great surprise that the preacher was the Guardian of the Franciscans. The third day a Father of the College, and the fourth day the Rector preached. During the year there were three deaths in the college—one being that of the Provincial. The letter remarks that he died of dysentery, soon after an exhortation on the Blessed Sacrament which he had made to the Community. He was 62 years old, and had been 44 years in the Society. His loss was keenly felt, for he was good, exact, and very charitable towards the sick.

IV. PADRE GASPER DE ANDRADE

FIFTH PROVINCIAL (1623–26)

Fr. Andrew Palmeyro nominated Fr. Andrew Pereira Rector of Tuticorin—"a good worker, but of remarkable simplicity", as the Visitator wrote about him. In gratitude to a certain Henry de Cruz, Fr. Rector had him nominated head of the caste. More experienced Fathers objected, for the man was of low extraction, and they feared the susceptibilities of people belonging to higher castes. But the Rector had his way. He was simple. But a simple man can be stubborn. He is rarely troubled with more than one idea. Trouble arose. De Cruz was a very determined man, and murdered his opponents. A storm broke out, and the people, stirred up by the Vicars of Vara, who hoped to get the churches back from the Fathers, from whom, as we know, they had been taken away, but to whom they had been restored, blamed the Fathers. The simple Fr. Pereira the *Prima fons et origo* of the storm was replaced by the late Provincial, Gasper Fernandez, but the tempest did not abate. De Cruz in his turn was murdered by a Portuguese, for they did not stop at half measures in those days. A pagan was

paid 4,000 patacas to avenge De Cruz's death. There was pitched battle in the streets of Tuticorin; and the Fathers thought it more prudent to take shelter at Punical.

At this time Fr. Rubino was appointed Rector of Tuticorin.

He was not a Portuguese, yet even Portuguese Superiors thought that by his tact, kindness and experience, he would restore peace.

The trouble however continued for some time, till finally it was settled in 1625.

The settlement was due partly to Fr. Rubino and partly to the influence of Fr. Palmeyro, and to the meekness of the new Provincial Fr. De Andrade. In a letter addressed to Fr. General from Cochin (24th November 1623) he manifested his intentions. He says: "I was in this Province when we were expelled the first time from the Fishery Coast. I witnessed the great disorders on our part, when we took up arms, to the great discredit of the Society, and the loss of the good opinion which the Portuguese, and even the Pagans had of us. This fact makes me resolve that for no reason whatever shall I consent to any other means of defending our cause, except meekness and patience. Let us represent to the King the justice of our cause, without having recourse to arms and punishments, as some of Ours would have it. Thus I am convinced that we shall work for the Glory of God and the good name of the Society.

"Let your Paternity deign to recommend to all the higher Superiors of these countries to act with all kindness and patience in similar cases, to endeavour to be in harmony with the Prelates, to administer the Churches in all subjection, without speaking of punishing the Christians, especially those who live in the territories of Pagan Princes, like the Paravers. For prudence demands that we should not be too strict with them, lest we lose them altogether.

"Much less can there be question of punishing the Pagans in whose territory we live. For the punishments we have made them suffer have embittered them against us, and finally they have had the last word. After all we live in their country and depend on them. Now that the power of the Portuguese in India is diminishing, it would be folly to

act otherwise. In fact Captains and even Viceroys have to dissimulate, because prudence demands it. As to ourselves, let us be satisfied with the charity which they show us by permitting us to instruct them and teach them the Doctrine of Christ. They and their Prelates desire our help and service. Let your Paternity rest assured that, because we have not acted in this manner, there have been excesses on our part also in this last business. Often it is not religion and zeal for souls, but the point of honour. Such behaviour will not yield good fruits."

So far the meek Provincial.

During his term of office died Don Francis Roz, the first Archbishop of Cranganore and took place Fr. Cacella's expedition to the Cathay, of which elsewhere.

V. PADRE ALBERTO LAERZIO

SIXTH PROVINCIAL (1626–30)

He is Shipwrecked, Made Prisoner, and Dies soon After His Liberation

Soon after his return from Rome Fr. Laerzio was nominated Provincial for the second time. This shows that Rome did not lay much importance on Portuguese nationalistic complaints, but chose as Superiors those who had the qualities requisite for their task. Of this last period of Fr. Laerzio's life we have not much to say. He had run his course; but that suffering might make him ripe for heaven, God allowed him to fall into the hands of the Malabar pirates.

The episode is to be found both in Cordara and in the Annual Letters.

This is how it happened: Fr. Laerzio having embarked at Coulan (Quilon) was sailing along the Malabar Coast in a defenceless merchant vessel, following closely the royal fleet of the Portuguese. With him were Frs. Francis Gonsalves and Emmanuel Silveira and the lay-brother Vincent Carruba, the companion of the Provincial. After quietly sailing for some time, a storm suddenly arose. The sea became so rough

that it not only drove the craft a long distance away from the royal fleet, but it broke the rudder. While the latter was being repaired the vessel was compelled to cast anchor. The ships, meanwhile, proceeded on their journey.

The Mahommedan pirates who happened to be ambushed behind a projecting rock, spied the vessel from a distance. Seizing the occasion, they suddenly sprang out of their hiding places, and in an armed *paro* (a Malabar sailing boat) made a dash for the ship which was without the help of the fleet, and, with impunity they captured it.

Only Ours were found in the vessel because the other passengers and the crew, at the sight of the onrushing enemy, threw themselves in the sea and swam to the nearest shore.

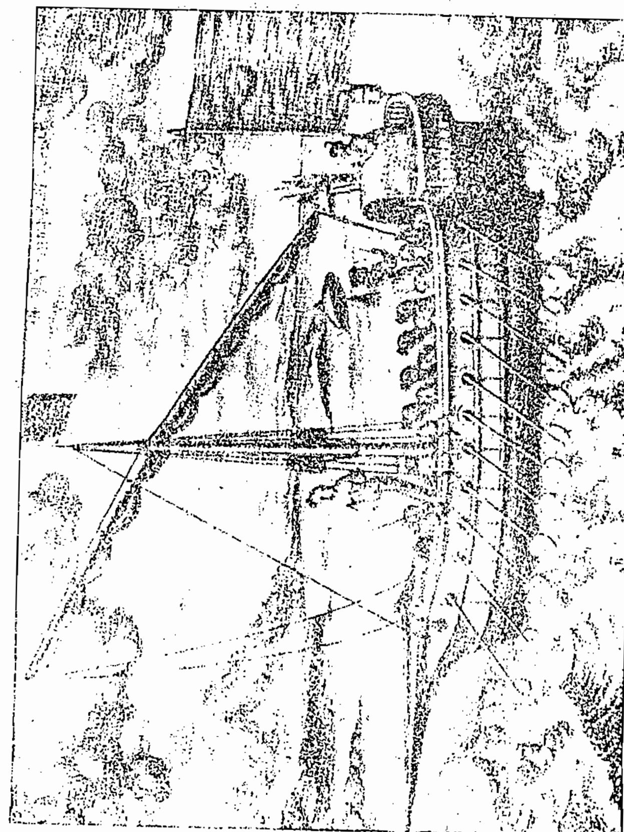
In the common confusion, Fr. Silveira, who was a good swimmer, tried to escape in the same way, and was safely making off, when he felt compassion for his Provincial Laerzio who besides being very advanced in age, was lying ill at the bottom of the ship suffering from gravel. To help him or rather to be his companion in peril and in death, he turned back, and doing again the long distance which he had already swum, he reached the vessel when it was already captured by the pirates.

The leader of the gang had decided on beheading them, and would certainly have carried his design into effect, had not the gangsters informed him that the men of this Order would ransom the prisoners for a high price.

He therefore changed his mind, avarice getting the better of cruelty. He kept them, however, in such a condition that they could hardly keep soul and body together.

For several days the pirate vessel roamed hither and thither. During all this time, Ours, half-naked, were exposed to the burning sun, bound with chains, starved almost to death and often flogged.

After roaming about on the sea for some days they reached the mouth of the Ponnani river. While the captors were at anchor there, they were informed that the King of Calicut, to whom the port belonged, claimed a share in their booty. The greedy pirates received the intimation with such insolence, that, despite the fact that a violent storm was raging, they would rather perish than pay a farthing to the King.



A MALABAR PARO
(XVI Century)

The Fathers who realized that they would perish by shipwreck, prayed to God, and confessed one another. Hardly had the vessel proceeded two miles when it capsized. The crew fell into the water and Fr. Gonsalves was instantly swallowed up by the waves. Br. Carruba was swimming pretty well, but while he was trying to snatch Laerzio's little box of papers from the hands of a pirate, the latter gave him a kick on the head which thrust him under water. Silveira, who could swim with ease, caught hold of a floating plank and clung to it. Laerzio too seized the same plank and so both struggling with hands and feet as best as they could, made for the shore. They were tossed about hither and thither by the waves and there was no hope of safety. For eight long hours they were in immediate danger of death and without ever letting the plank go. After Silveira had invoked the aid of Fr. Xavier, a boat came to the rescue of the shipwrecked. Thus both of them were picked up and brought back to the mouth of Ponnani river, whence they had sailed.

The episode seemed like a miracle even to the Pagans; all the more so, when afterwards it was known that the twenty-eight pirates, whilst swimming, had all perished to a man.

The Fathers, when they were put ashore, had to suffer more cruel torments. Even the King of Calicut, alleging as an excuse the war he was waging against the Portuguese, detained them as captives. But when at last the price (for their ransom) was paid, they were set free and returned safely to the Province (of Malabar).

It is wonderful to read of the joy and exultation both of the Fathers and of the whole town at the arrival of Fr. Laerzio. They went to meet him, and saluted him as their strength, comfort and hope. They professed that they were helpless without him. The old man must have been touched by the gratitude of the people, and the love shown to him by his own. But the sufferings and anxieties he had undergone had been too great; and he died in Cochin in 1630.

He was the real founder of the Province of Malabar.

His natural optimism was lifted to a higher plane by his great confidence in God. He stood by Fr. De Nobili both in the day of triumph and in the darkness of failure. A man

of principle, he stood unflinchingly against the onslaughts of the Bishop of Cochin.

He supported Don Francis Roz in his troubled Episcopate. Though his Portuguese subjects often spoke and wrote against him, yet they acknowledged his great gifts. When he worked for his election as Procurator of the Province to Rome, he did it to save the very life of the Province, which was threatened by the party desirous of reunion with Goa. He knew that Religious are tending to perfection, but are not perfect. He would make allowances for human weakness, and yet he had the art of getting every man to do his best for the glory of God and the salvation of souls. The Superiors in Rome had the greatest esteem for him, and their esteem was fully deserved. A man of prayer and a man of action, he fulfilled the ideal which St. Ignatius had of a true Companion of Jesus.

VI. PADRE GASPER FERNANDEZ

SEVENTH PROVINCIAL (1630–34)

1. CIRCUMSTANCES IN WHICH PADRE FERNANDEZ TAKES CHARGE

The circumstances in which Padre Gasper assumed again the government of the Province were particularly difficult. The power of the Portuguese was weakening. Ceylon was in revolt. The count of Linhares had come out as Viceroy, and one of his first acts had been to withdraw state assistance from the Church and in particular from his *bete noire*, the Society of Jesus.

It was rumoured that the Archbishop of Goa had died after a violent dispute with the Viceroy.

Within the Society the national spirit was again raising its ugly head. The Portuguese were pained when Italians were nominated Superiors. "But what have they to reproach them with?" Wrote Fr. Begoncio to Fr. General (Serra, 23rd January 1629): "What services have not rendered to Church and state Frs. Laerzio, Levanto, Levi, Spinola, Callegari and Simi?" And the writer proceeds to accuse the Portuguese

of jealousy and ambition. He gives facts and names. Fr. Oliveyra—of course—but then even Fr. Stephen Brito and Andrew Pereira and Miguel Faria are not spared.

Count de Linhares had now communicated an order from the King, which insisted that only Portuguese should have the higher posts, otherwise the "*Ordinarias*" would be withheld.

In 1630 there were 68 Jesuits in the College of Cochin; 80 in 1632. They seemed to prefer the town to the Missions.

From a letter of Fr. Provincial (25th November 1632) we learn that a certain Dona Louisa de Silva had offered to the Society half of her Father's property. But the property was mortgaged to her son-in-law, and his claims seemed right. To settle the affair Fr. Francis Barreto had gone to Goa.

The Governor of the Moluccas, Don Pedro de Heredia wanted to be a founder of the College. He was offering 1,000 pesos and promising more. In fact he desired his son to become a Jesuit. The Fathers, however, thought best not to accept. And we read that the young man eventually married in Manila.

The financial condition of the College continued to be unsatisfactory. Hence it would seem that neither Donna Louisa's nor Don Pedro's offers were ever realised.

2. RECTORS GOOD AND LESS GOOD

Fr. Manuel Nunez wrote (2nd January 1628): "The Archbishop has good reason to complain for want of labourers. For the Superiors give work to the Fathers in the College, and no more Missions are given in the Serra. They take them away from the Seminary, where they are learning the language. All their time is taken up with preaching and journeys to Cochin".

Fr. Andrew Pereira, who had been the occasion of serious trouble in Tuticorin was made Rector of Cranganore under Fr. Laerzio (1628). He was not very satisfactory. We read in Fr. Nunez's letter: "The Rector carries on commerce, he sells cocoanuts, milk, wine. Yet he has no money for the Missions. He has even reduced the fare of the Community. Prayer is neglected. In one day he gave six orders of

obedience to a lay-brother. He builds much. It is there that he spends money. He told the Father of Paliporto (Andre da Costa) that he could live on the revenues of the Church. In conscience could he do so?"

No wonder that Fr. Laerzio replaced the Rector one year later. For there is, thank God, this good thing in the Society, that, though disorders creep in, they are not allowed to take root.

After 3 years Fr. Damien Paez became Rector of Cranganore (1632–34). The Archbishop thus writes of him to Fr. Vitelleschi (1st January 1633): "The Rector of the College of the Serra is virtuous and learned. The Christians love him very much. He knows how to take them; he knows the language well, and also Syriac a little. But he feels very much that he has not been made a Professed."

Among the Fathers at Cranganore there was Fr. Antonio Toscano from Mylapore, probably the first Tamilian Jesuit. He was fifty and had been long in the Mission, where he had filled important posts.

Towards the end of 1627, Fr. Rubino wrote to Fr. General on the peace which had been re-established at Tuticorin.

We shall quote the end of his letter: "It is now five years that I am a Rector, and Fr. Provincial does not think of giving my job to somebody else, notwithstanding my repeated demands. Only our Lord knows how much I have suffered. It seems to me I have a right to some rest. I am already fifty; and it is time for me to prepare for the next life. May it please your Paternity to write to Fr. Provincial to free me, and stop employing me as a Superior. Twelve years of Rectorship in various places are more than enough. It is just that I should exercise myself in obeying during the few years that still remain, preparing *ut digne possim occurrere Christo Domino*".

3. Fr. Fenicio's Death

We shall add here a paragraph on the death of Fr. Fenicio, because it was precisely at this time (1632) that he died in Cochin (or at St. Andrew's). He was the second Founder of the Calicut Church, an eminent missionary, a great scholar.

He was nearly 75, had been 52 years in the Society and more than 49 in India. Fr. Barreto[3] thus speaks of him; "It would be necessary to write a book in order to speak of his spirit of prayer, his excessive mortification, his great charity and his wonderful humility, all virtues which were noted apart at its proper time". Probably the writer alludes to an obituary notice, which must have been sent to Rome soon after the death of the Father.

The same Barreto relates of Fr. Fenicio that, when on his death bed, he desired the Fathers to come to his cell, and there he recommended to them to work untiringly for the conversion of souls to Christ Our Lord.

That had been the great passion of his life.

In a letter of his, written in 1624, and of which we have a photograph in our possession, he informs us that he was then teaching the language of the country to a new-comer, Fr. Antonio Henriquez, and though he was 67 years old, and had worked in the Missions for more than 40 years, and desired now to share the life of Mary, yet he was ready to go to the Serra.

It is interesting to read in the same letter his opinion about the Missions in the Serra. They are good, but the fruit is not commensurate to the labours, for the Churches are very far apart, the time dedicated to the Missions is short and the Missionaries are few. It is several years that they try to organize some residences in the Serra, but it is not easy, for there are the Cassanars, to whom the Parishes are entrusted. The Fathers can do much good by their example, by preaching, teaching catechism, etc. There is the difficulty of money also for Portugal sends little, and the College of Cranganore is overburdened. Yet something could be done, if the Fathers managed to have their cocoanut groves.

In the same letter he is very enthusiastic about Ceylon, where the hopes of conversion are very bright. Towards the end we find an ominous paragraph, where, as far as we can make out, the good Father laments the vices of Europeans in India, and he adds but for the good lives of the Religious,

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3 *Relatione delle Missioni ... che appartengono alla Provincia di Malabar*, Roma, Cavalli, 1643, p. 51.

nos quasi Sodoma fuissemus. He hopes that God's mercy may meet God's justice, and that the divine punishments may be delayed by prayer and penance.

The last point is about Tanur, but I cannot make it out. This is the last letter of Fr. Fenicio. He had still eight years of life, which he spent in St. Andrew's, devoting his failing energies to the good of his beloved Christians, and to the conversion of infidels.

Then the end came, whether at Cochin or at Porcas, we are not sure: and there passed away one of the noblest and most gifted Missionaries in India. (1)

VII. PADRE GABRIEL DE MATTOS

EIGHTH PROVINCIAL (Sept. 1632–33)

No trace remains of the Provincialate of Fr. de Mattos.

VIII. PADRE MIGUEL DE FARIA

NINTH PROVINCIAL (1634–35)

Fr. De Faria succeeded Fr. Fernandez. He had been accused *de ambitu,* but probably without foundation, for Rome took no notice of it.

The number of Jesuits in the Province falls from 180 to 140. Why? Perhaps because the scholastics were sent to Goa, since the Malabar Province was too poor to maintain them.

Fr. Mecinski's Letter to Fr. General Mutius Vitelleschi (19th April 1635).—Not infrequently the Fathers destined to Japan stopped for some time in Goa or at Cochin. Among others Blessed Charles Spinola and Hieronymo de Angelis were guests of the College of Cochin. In 1635 Fr. Mecinski, a Pole, and Fr. Rubino, who were destined by God to suffer together the torments of *"The Ditch"* in Japan, met in Cochin.

Fr. Mecinski, before leaving Cochin, writes a short letter to Fr. General, where we read a splendid appreciation of Fr. Rubino: "He is *religiosus insignis* and of great talents. At present he is engaged in preparing a great work (now lost), but he finds it difficult to get it printed. He should be called back to Italy, since his presence in India is not needed."

In the same letter Fr. Mecinski mentions Br. Pedro De Bastos, who had worked in Cochin for many years. "He is a saint. *Vere religiosus, humilis, pauper et devotus.* Sanctity shines on his face. Not all believe his visions of the Eucharist. But he is deemed a saint, chiefly by outsiders." We may add here some extracts from a letter of Fr. Rubino, where he assures Fr. General that he will clear himself of all the accusations they have sent about him to the King of Spain. On the other hand, he does not mind much, for God fills him now with such delights, that he is ready to suffer anything for God's love.

He has been forced to accept the Rectorship of Cochin. He says that the Province lacks good men, fit to govern. "Send us some good Father from Portugal, and do not mind these *Berlenguches* from Italy, who are useless for government, though they are excellent missionaries. We need a Visitor, zealous, supernatural, impartial. The supernatural spirit is fading away."

The Annual Letters till 1640 are missing, and even the Catalogues are incomplete.

IX. PADRE MANUEL DE AZEVEDO

TENTH PROVINCIAL (1637–1641)

1. General News

In the year 1637 Fr. Rubino is nominated Visitor of Japan. He leaves for Malacca, where he will wait for the winds favourable to navigation.

Does he feel that God is calling him to the crown of martyrdom? In Japan he will meet again Fr. Mecinski and they will die together for the Faith.

There are no Annual Letters since 1634. In that of January 1641, we find that the personnel of the Province was 160, with 124 Priests.

The College of Cochin was most edifying. In Goa they called it a *Capucha Cartuga da Companía na India,* the Charter House of the Society in India.

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The Fathers lent a hand in putting out a terrible fire which had broken out in the English Store House, and the English showed themselves very grateful.

The Centenary of the Institution of the Society was celebrated with great solemnity.

2. Fr. Francis Fernandez

On 31st January 1641 died Fr. Fernandez, aged 78. He was born in Goa, but had come South, where he had been Missionary at Porca and Paliporto (1599–1604), Rector of Cranganore (1608–1611) and Rector of Chanota or Vaipicota, where he taught Syriac and Malabar. He enjoyed an extraordinary reputation for sanctity, and no wonder, for he is said to have spent seven hours in prayer every day. He was often rapt in ecstasy, and had the gift of tears. God was pleased to work miracles through him. The simple touch of his hands cured running sores.

The fishermen of Porca were in the habit of going out fishing even on Sunday. He told them not to; but they disobeyed. To their dismay they saw the fish covered with worms, as soon as it was caught, as the Father had foretold. Repentant and in tears, they came to ask pardon, and the good Father blessed the fish which became clean and wholesome again.

The funeral took place at Vaipicota, where the Father had spent the last twenty-five years of his life, and the crowds which came to pay their last homage to the Servant of God, were a sight never before witnessed at Vaipicota.

X. PADRE PETER PAUL GODINHO

ELEVENTH PROVINCIAL (1641–1643)

In 1643 the personnel consisted of 144 Religious, of whom 33 were Priests. Why such remarkable decrease in two years?

The Annual Letters of 1642 and 1643 speak of the great fervour of the Community in Cochin.

The Scholastics soar high on the two wings of virtue and learning.

The old Fathers give good example to all. They are ever ready to undertake all the ministries of the Society.

The Students' Sodality is remarkable for its fervour.

In 1642, eighteen Mahommedans were baptised, and the number would be far greater but for the opposition of the Rajah of Cochin.

In Travancore the Fathers are in great distress. In fact, there is poverty everywhere, for Portugal rarely pays any money to the Missions now.

The Portuguese are harassed by the Dutch, and their coffers are empty.

XI. PADRE MANOEL BARRADAS

TWELFTH PROVINCIAL (1644–1646)

In less than twenty years there were seven Provincials in Malabar. Fr. Barradas was a veteran who had been Socius to Fr. Pero, and had written several reports to Rome against Fr. De Nobili. Next he had passed on to Goa, wherefrom he was sent to Abyssinia, where he endured great hardships, and wrote several memoirs on that country. When he became Provincial he was 72. He had troubles again on the Fishery Coast, where bad Christians, who had been scolded by the Fathers for their robberies and murders, wrote endless accusations against them.

It was during Fr. Barradas's term of office that we read of the wonderful graces that were obtained by the prayers of a holy Father, whose name is not given.

Once, whilst he was going out to hear Confessions, he felt inspired to enter a little hut. A poor woman had just given birth to a child. He baptized them, and before he left, both mother and child expired.

Another time in Travancore, he found a dead infant in a wood. He stopped and prayed for about three hours. The child opened its eyes and was baptized. When the fact was related the child was still living.

One day he was called to hear the confession of a sick man. On his way he suddenly stopped, fell on his knees and while in prayer, he saw the soul of the man enter heaven.

He rose and returned home. His companions wondered. He answered: "Why go on? The man is in heaven already." God is really wonderful in his Saints.

XII. PADRE IGNATIO BRUNO

THIRTEENTH PROVINCIAL (1646–1650)

Evidently the Portuguese must have relaxed in their opposition to foreign Superiors, for Fr. Bruno was an Italian, from Bagnali (Nocera). When he became Provincial he was 61 and had spent 43 years in the Missions.

In 1648 the province numbered 142 subjects, *i.e.*, 94 Priests, 24 Scholastics, 16 Coadjutors and 8 Novices. The preceding Provincials had had so many troubles on the Fishery Coast, that it is pleasant to record better news under Fr. Bruno.

The Sodality of our Lady was reorganised in Tuticorin. The Patangatins were the first to be enrolled and one of them gave 100 crusados to buy a silver Cross.

On the Fishery Coast there were in 1648, 21,636 Christians, 3,380 children frequented catechism, 285 went to school. In the 10 Residences the Fathers worked much for the good of souls. They endeavoured to popularise frequent communion, though the men objected on the score that they were unworthy. They thought that only those who never committed mortal sin were worthy. But this error was gradually disappearing.

In the interior there were 11 Churches and 2,200 souls.

On the 18th of April 1646, died at Tuticorin, Fr. Peter John, Rector. He was born in the Kingdom of Naples, and had been 49 years in the Society. He had been Rector at Negapatam, Jaffna, Tuticorin; and everywhere he was beloved both by Religious and Seculars. He was known as "good Peter". During his last sickness shone his admirable patience. The funeral was a real triumph, and his grave has become a place of pilgrimage.

When a Christian is sick he asks to be touched with the biretta of "good Peter" such is the faith they have in the power of his intercession.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

[1] In a letter of Fr. Fenicio of the year 1624, he calls himself an old man of 67. Therefore he was born in 1557. In the *corrections et additions a'la Bibliotheque de la C.D.J. Supplement a de Backer-Sommervogel par E. M. Riviere, S.J., Troisieme Fascicule (Toulouse,* 1913, No. 1355, p. 453) we find that he joined the Novitiate about 1580.

In the *Synopsis Annalium, S.J.* in Lusitania ab anno 1540 ad annum 1725, Auctore A. Franco (Aug. Vindelicorum 1726) we read, p. 135: "Profecti ad Indiam 15: Ad Indian contendunt 15 (a 1583) tres Lusitani, caeteri diversarum gentium. Plurimum incendit socios grande exemplum Rectoris Eborensis, Petri Silvae, et magistri tironum, Hieronimi Cotae".

Among them was Fr. Fenicio.

Of 1584 there is his letter to Fr. Aquaviva from "una residenza congionta al collegio di Coccino".

1587 mense Dec. Resid Porcanensis: P. Jacobus Phinicius, Sup. et Praef. Paroeciae S. Andreae. Eius socius est. P. A. Schipanus, Praef, Paroeciae S. Jacobi.

31.12.1588. Cat. Trienn. Goa 24.1.178: P. Jacome Fenicio Italiano de capua de 30 anos, de buenas forcas, de 9 an. de la comp. a oyo 3 an. de theol. Sup de la Res. De Porcao 20.12.1594 Goa, 24, 1, 221, V: Resid. de Porca; P.Th. Massi Vicar de S. Andre. P. Jacome Phenicio Vicar de S. Miguel. From Fr. Pimenta's letter we see that Fr. Fenicio was in Calicut in 1601. He probably worked there till 1619, when he went back to Porca, where he died in 1632.

We read in Du Jarric's *Thesaurus III*, 2, 42, sqq.

"Ethnicae superstitionis apud Malabares inolita capita perdiscebant Patres quo et facilius Barbaros, commentitiis fabellis quibus credebant eventilatis, ad fidem perducerent. Hanc in rem primus incubuit P. Jacobus Fenicius quem ethnicus horum callentissimus quotidie adibat, et inanes deorum origines edocebat."

without confessing their sins, they got his blessing and went away. Father Fenicio had been asked to hold the Mission during Lent by the Archbishop of Goa and by the Parish Priest. How fruitful it was we can gather from a letter of the Parish Priest to Rev. Fr. Provincial. "May Christ O. L."—so he writes—"recompense Your Paternity for the great benefit, you conferred upon me and upon this parish by sending here Fr. Fenicio. His coming was of great glory and honour to God. He heard the confessions of nearly the whole Parish, where there are more than 1,400 people. I candidly confess that I do not find words to describe his zeal, and the wonderful esteem he gained for the Society. He heard many general confessions of the whole life; he uprooted strong dissensions among citizens, with great advantage and joy of many. After spending the whole day in the confessional, or in visiting the sick, at night, to get a little rest, he gathered the Indians in public places, and explained to them the catechism in Malayalam. I know personally how great was the fruit gathered from these meetings. I found many, who did not know how to make their confession, so well instructed, that I thought them worthy to receive Holy Communion. The work indeed was enormous, but the fruit was not despicable in the sight of God."

4. *In times of distress* the Jesuits were ever ready to spend themselves for the good of the people.

In May 1607 there broke out in Cochin a terrible epidemic, which the natives called *Mordessim*. Within four or five hours death overtook the patients, in the midst of great pain. Not a house was spared. In the College Br. Amador da Costa fell a victim to the disease.

The Fathers did their best to comfort the sick.

5. *Conversions.*—Just as in Europe, so in India the Jesuits had many enemies. But not infrequently they died reconciled to the Society.

The Annual Letter for 1627–28 mentions the death of the Governor of Cochin. He had been a declared enemy of the Society but before dying he called a Father to his bed-side, to whom he made his Confession, and he begged of the Society to distribute his ill-gotten riches among those to whom he had done injustice.

Again in 1628 Cochin witnessed an extraordinary event. All have heard of the Cochin Jews. The white Jews are supposed to have come from Palestine; the black Jews are country-born, and have degenerated from the faith of their ancestors. A Jew, born at Constantinople, well-versed in the Scriptures and in the languages of the East, having travelled through Persia and the Empire of the Great Mogul, had come to Cochin, to preach to his own coreligionaries. The fruit was wonderful, but more wonderful still was his conversion to Catholicism, through the work of Our Fathers. He was baptised by the Archbishop of Cranganore, Don Estevao de Brito, and the Governor of the City stood god-father.

In 1642 a Portuguese, belonging to one of the first families, died. He called one of the Fathers and made a general confession of all his life, with great sorrow and tears. Then he added that he had administered poison to his wife and to another woman, the effect of which would take place within a fortnight. But he taught the Father the antidote, and the two women were saved.

In 1643 another notable conversion of a Portuguese, who had formerly belonged to the Society. Being very old and sick, he called one of the Fathers, and, to the astonishment of all those who knew him, he begged to be reconciled with God. More: he asked most earnestly to be received again into the Society, out of which there would be no salvation for him. They could not comply with his request for he was married; but they consented to let him die near our gates. He was brought there, and made a very edifying death.

6. *Church Building.*—Fr. M. Roiz is relieved of his Rectorship at San Thome after one year (1606–07). He was a man of ability and virtue, but very strict. His successor, Fr. Levanto, had a special grace for conversion work. Fr. Roiz, however, remarked that he occupied himself too much with temporal things, which, though they gained him a good deal of influence, exposed him to criticism and opposition.

From 1604 to 1607 a new stone church (*Mae de Deus*) was built, to which the Portuguese contributed more than 1,000 pardaos. The work was never stopped for want of money.

CHAPTER XV

PASTORAL WORK

(1600–1650)

A. Work among the Portuguese

MUCH has been written of the avarice, pride, cruelty and immorality of the Portuguese in India. No doubt, many among them were far from living up to the Christian ideal. Yet, one should not forget to mention their strong faith, their valour, their generosity.

Work among them in Goa and Cochin did not differ greatly from work among Christians in the great European cities. The Jesuit churches were beautiful. The Fathers preached well. They were assiduous at the confessional, and the people came. They confided to them their children, who were well taught and well educated. They loved to join Jesuit sodalities, Jesuit processions, Jesuit religious meetings; and they gave to the Jesuits of their money, of their silks, of their jewels.

Of course, some preferred the Franciscans, or the Dominicans. They made comparisons, they took sides, they gossiped, they murmured, and at times they caluminated and persecuted.

And the Jesuits went on doing their work calmly, persistently: alms to the poor, consolation to the afflicted, counsel to the perplexed.

But let us give particulars.

1. *A Friendly Viceroy.*—In 1603 the new Viceroy, Ayres de Saldhana, visits Cochin. The Jesuit Master of the first class stages in his honour the martyrdom of SS. Vitus and Modestus. The Viceroy, and the whole town, attend, and are touched by the faith of the Martyrs, and enthusiastic at the fine acting of the boys.

The Viceroy loves the Fathers, and shows them marks of esteem and affection. During the voyage to Cochin, he confessed to a Jesuit, and received Holy Communion every Saturday.[1]

[1] From the *Annual* of 1604.

But not all Governors were like that. Thus the Annual Letter of 1620 informs us that the calumnies against the Society in Ceylon were so persistent, that the Viceroy DON JOHN COUTINHO (18th November 1617–10th November 1619) deprived the Fathers of their main sources of revenue. But his successor DON FERNANDO D'ALBUQUERQUE (11th November 1619–19th December 1622) hastened to repair the injustice, and to inform His Majesty of the falsity of the accusations.

2. *Private benefactors* also came to the rescue and helped the Fathers in their distress. For instance, a wealthy widow left 450 pardaos yearly income to the College of Colombo.

That was at the time of Governor Coutinho.

But at other times also and in other places generous benefactors were not wanting. We have already mentioned Antonio Guedes de Moraes, founder of the Colleges of Cochin and of Vaipicota, who three days before his death gave more than 50,000 pardaos to the Society. Up to the 1st of January 1604 Fr. Laerzio thus enumerates his benefactions: "He gives to the College of Cochin 15,000 pardaos, destined for Vaipicota, and adds 10,000 more, which makes 25,000. He had already given bonds for 500 pardaos every year and spent more than 6,000 for the Sanctuary (Capilla Mor.); further, a silver lamp worth 1,000 pardaos. Hence we have ordered that in all our houses 3 Masses and 3 Rosaries be said for him. He has done much for Vaipicota. He has secured for it an income of 300 pardaos, and built the College from its foundation. We hope that he will do even more. I trust that Your Paternity will be pleased to write him a letter of thanks." Thus Fr. Laerzio to Fr. General Acquaviva.

Antony de Moraes died on the 15th of July 1607.

3. *Missions.*—But the Jesuits not only worked for the Portuguese in the towns where they had their own colleges. They were also invited elsewhere. Thus in 1607 Padre Giacomo Fenicio gave a fruitful Mission in the Fortress of Cannanore, "where, besides the Parish Priest there is a Franciscan Monastery". However nobody knew Malayalam to be able to instruct the neophites. Hence the poor people were almost entirely ignorant of the faith, and they were Christian only in name. To satisfy the precept of annual Confession they came to the Priest, and throwing themselves at his feet,

In 1607 there were 40 baptisms of adults. The generosity of the Portuguese in the building of churches was remarkable everywhere. To take just another example: At Negapatam they had built the magnificent churches of the Jesuits, the Dominicans, the Augustinians. Again the main Parish Church, and three other Parishes were built with their money. More, they contributed also to the erection of the Misericordia, the Hospital and the Lazar House, each one with its own church.

The poor flocked to Negapatam from every side, for they were sure to get help from the Christians. Similarly we are told that a great part of the income of *Mae de Deus* at San Thome, went to the poor. Surely an example to be remembered especially at the present day, when distress is growing everywhere.

In 1604 Fr. Provincial restored the Memories of St. Thomas at the Little Mount, where the Fathers usually went for their holidays.

7. *Devotion to Our Lady.*—Some forty years later the church of *Mae de Deus*, outside the walls of Mylapore, suffered much from famine. Yet there were still 900 Christians who used to go to confession, 120 children who frequented catechism, and 12 who went to school.

Many Christians, who had emigrated to pagan countries could not live away from their dear church, and preferred to live in want, rather than stay away from the shrine of Our Lady. Her statue was the object of great veneration, not only among the Christians of the place who were called the Christians of *Mae de Deus*, but also among the Portuguese elsewhere.

Thus the church was much frequented by pilgrims, who came to present their offerings and their prayers.

The devotion to Our Lady was shown also on the West Coast. The churches of Calicut, Tanur and Ponani were dedicated to Our Lady. The College of Cochin was built in honour of the *Mae de Deus*. The Fathers had secured from Rome several copies of the picture venerated at St. Mary Major, and Fr. Fenicio brought it to the Nilgiris, in his famous expeditions to Todaland. Whether he later on gave it to the church of Tanur, and whether the picture that is even now venerated in the Cathedral of Calicut, is the same, we cannot say.

8. *Sodalities.*—The Jesuit Sodalities are famous all over the world. Even in India in the seventeenth century they did great work. There were Sodalities at Côchin, Quilon, Tuticorin, San Thome and elsewhere.

In the letter of 1648 we read the praises of the Students' Sodality at Negapatam. They are so good that one would mistake them for Novices. They take their recreation under the eyes of the Fathers. They seem to know only one road—from home to school and back. Many of them enter Religion every year.

But in Negapatam there was also a Sodality of Indian Christians which was very flourishing.

Even the Portuguese were touched by their example, and so formed a Sodality of their own. Many doubted whether it would ever succeed; for the quarrels and dissensions among the Portuguese seemed to make success impossible. In fact, a gentleman, more sceptic than the rest, was induced one Friday evening to go to the Sodality meeting.

At a certain moment the Sodalists took the discipline before a most devout *Ecce Homo*, praying all the while "*Miserere mei, Deus, miserere mei*". The gentleman was so touched that he burst into tears, and when he was told to control himself, he said: "How can I? My emotion is stronger than my will".

The Sodalists were of great help to the Fathers, chiefly in quelling hatred and quarrels.

9. *Beati pacifici.*—We know that one of the most difficult works of the Fathers among the Portuguese was precisely the work of pacification.

The Letter of 1606 speaks of the terrible enmities which reigned among the Portuguese at San Thome. Our Fathers do their best to pacify them, but almost in vain. "They show themselves more valiant in killing one another than in defending themselves against the common enemy, who come and burn their vessels even in the harbour, as it happened this year and the last, thanks to a surprise attack by the Dutch. Ours have worked much for this end. Though they have not succeeded, God will not refuse them the merit of their efforts."

Similarly the letter of 1611 speaks of the quarrels at San Thome. "They go back to six or seven years ago. At certain

times the fire seemed extinct, but it flared up again at the least incident. The censures fulminated by the Bishop were like oil on the flames. Three hundred mercenaries on either side (brigands gathered from God knows where) terrorise the city. Our Fathers were asked to intervene. God blessed their efforts. The barricades and fortifications raised up by both parties were demolished, the cannons removed, the assassins sent away, peace signed. May God make it last."

10. *Portuguese and Native Christians.*—Another very important work which had to be done by the Fathers almost everywhere on the Coast and in Ceylon was that of settling quarrels and disputes among Portuguese and native Christians.

Under cover of the common good and of the King's service, the Portuguese often committed horrible acts of tyranny and injustice against the Indians. For instance in Manar, in 1642, things had come to such a pass that the Indians had decided to leave the place. A Father then went to Colombo, to beg of Captain General, Don Philip Mascarenhas, to devise some remedy.

The Captain, having heard the long tale of oppressions and extorsions wrote a letter, wherein the Portuguese were threatened with punishments, unless they changed their ways.

The letter did not have much effect, for in 1648 we read of the same oppressions and injustices.

Similarly in Jaffna and the surrounding country there were at the time 13 Fathers and 12 Churches. The writer of the Annual Letter confesses that the work of conversion has stopped for there are no more pagans to convert.

These new Christians—he says—are so well instructed that it is difficult to find a boy or a girl who does not know Manuel George's *Cartilla,* which has been translated into Sinhalese. All go to confession at least once a year, and the more fervent oftener.

And yet the oppressions they have to endure are horrible, worse than at Manar. "I do not know when things will change; but what I do know is that the inhabitants emigrate in great numbers, and go to the Kingdom of Kandy, our enemy. While I am writing these lines I should like to be in the presence of the King, to make him acquainted with the great injustices, which are perpetrated in his name. For I am sure that such a good King would not consent that new Christians should prefer to be the subjects of a pagan King rather than his own, and this on account of his officers' cruel exactions, who flay them alive in order to fill their own pockets. Our Fathers are very much pained, but all to no purpose.

In the city the Fathers work much to keep peace among the soldiers, or between the Captain and the Vicar of Vara, or between the Captain and other Religions."

11. *A Penitential Procession.*—We shall conclude these few notes on the work of the Fathers among the Portuguese by giving the description of a penitential procession, which took place at Negapatam, on the occasion of the destruction of Bassein by an earthquake. For three days the Blessed Sacrament was exposed, in expiation and atonement. The third day the Sacred Face of Our Lord was shown to the people, in order that the sight might arouse in every heart feelings of compunction. At night a penitential procession started from our church. At the head of the procession marched a large silver cross, covered with a veil. This was followed by children clad in white, and crowned with thorns, singing the Litanies. In their midst they carried the statue of the Infant Jesus, carrying the Martyria in His right hand, and the Cross in the left. Followed His Holy Mother, with the arms stretched out to heaven; then the Saviour loaded with the Cross, and finally, the head of one of St. Ursula's Virgins, covered by a veil, and surrounded by numerous clergy.

B. Work among the Thomas Christians

The work done by the Fathers among the Thomas Christians was of various kinds. First they had parish work, though not in many places, and not far away from Cochin. Next—and most important—was the work of formation of the Clergy, carried on at Vaipicota. Finally the hearing of confessions, the teaching of catechism, the giving of missions, everywhere in the Serra.

1. *Parish Work.*—Fr. Fenicio's great work in Calicut has been described elsewhere. We shall speak here of his labours as Parish Priest of the church of St. Andrew, situated at Porca, not far from Cochin.

There were three churches there, one for the Thomas Christians, and two for the new converts.

The Father had left Calicut towards 1619, when he was about 62 years old. The Annual Letters, however, up to the year 1633, never mention him any more.

They speak of the doings of the Fathers *Residentiae divi Andreae,* but give no names. We know, however, that Fr. Fenicio was there. Life at St. Andrew's was not as brilliant as it had been in Calicut; but the spiritual consolations must have been greater. Fr. Fenicio's devotion to the Holy Cross had ever been remarkable. He had it planted before the churches of Calicut, Tanur and Ponani; and urged the people, both Catholics and Gentiles, to have recourse to it. Many graces were obtained by the invocation of the Holy Cross. In the *Annua* of 1616 there is mention of a grand procession in honour of the Holy Cross at St. Andrew's in which took part Cassanars and Padres, Latin Catholics and Christians of St. Thomas.

The Cross was looked upon with faith and confidence like the brass serpent, erected by Moses for the salvation of many. A poor woman had her legs paralyzed and could not move. She made a vow to the Holy Cross to offer some candles, and behold! she was cured. Another time the fishermen had been worried by a prolonged dearth of fishes. A procession was arranged. The Cross was brought to the sea shore, and immersed into the sea, up to the sacred feet of Our Crucified Lord. Meanwhile all were praying with tears and bewailing. Soon after God Almighty heard their supplications to the wonder of all even the Gentiles (see *Annua,* 1619).

God had granted Fr. Fenicio great power over the devil. We shall take a remarkable occurrence from the *Annua* of 1622. One of the chief Christians of the parish was one night in his own cocoanut grove. All of a sudden he saw two black men, so horrible and frightful, that he fell senseless to the ground. The Father was far away when the news was brought to him. He hurried to the place, and found the man raving mad. He had him bound and brought to the Church, where he read the Gospel of St. Mark (*Ite in mundum universum*) over him, having first made the sign of the cross on the poor man's head, and anointed him with some oil from the sanctuary

lamp. The Father, who was very tired from a previous journey, went to bed, leaving the man tied up and locked in the Church. He meant to exorcise him the next day. But in the morning when opening the Church, he found him unbound and kneeling with great devotion. Asked how he had been liberated, he answered that Our Lady, accompanied by a venerable old man, had appeared to him and had freed him from the devil. The old man looked like the Apostle St. Andrew, who was painted over the altar.

The Annual Letter of 1611 tells us that one Father is in charge of the Church of *Caturte.* Formerly there was a strange custom there. Boys and girls did not go to confession before marriage. Now children go to confession and communion several times in the year.

A fine marble cross has been erected in front of the church. On the day of the blessing of this Cross there was a great concourse of Christians and Pagans, come to honour the instrument of Our Redemption.

The Cross is becoming famous for the daily miracles wrought there, at which the Christians rejoice and the Pagans wonder.

Of course, the Annual Letters usually make mention of remarkable events only. The routine work of Parish Priests, at times very taxing, always obscure, often thankless, is taken for granted. Besides Porca and Caturte, the Fathers did parish work for the Thomas Christians at Vaipicota, Cranganore, Paliporto.

In the seventeenth century—as at present—the main work of the Fathers was in Schools, Seminaries, Parishes for European or Indian Christians. Yet almost every year the Annuals for Cochin, Calicut, Quilon, Cranganore, San Thome, Negapatam, etc., mention the number of Baptisms for adults.

Some work, therefore, was done then, as now, even in towns and European settlements, for the conversion of the heathen. Here 20, there 50, elsewhere 80 Baptisms of adults are not many; yet, when the streamlet is continuous the land around feels its presence. It loses its barren appearance; it slowly becomes green and beautiful. In the seventeenth century, as now, the Missions ad Paganos existed; but the greater proportion of missionaries could not be employed in

them. Further, they too, little by little, created their own parishes, with their round of work, constant and exacting; so that more Fathers were required, and less were available for direct evangelisation. We quote in Notes and Documents two letters of Fr. Fenicio, which give some idea of the labours of the Fathers in the work of conversion. (1)

2. *Work in the Seminaries.*—The Malabar Province had to man its own Noviciate and Scholasticate in Cochin, the Seminary for Syrian Christians in Vaipicota, and the Seminary for the Latins in Tuticorin. Besides that, it had to care for the famous school for Catechists, which was started in Quilon by Fr. Lancilotti. The Seminary for Brahmins, which Fathers De Nobili and Vico wished to build in Madura, never seems to have become a reality.

The most important thing in a Seminary is the formation of the spiritual life of the young Levites. The Fathers at Vaipicota and Tuticorin continued in this respect the best traditions of the Society. Often in the Annual Letters we read of the fervour of the Seminarists in Vaipicota—how they frequented the Holy Table and the Sacrament of Confession, how great was their devotion to Our Lady. On the eve of feast days they took the discipline, and—if we interpret a Latin expression correctly (*i.e., invincem se lacessunt*)—they even administered the discipline to each other.

Fr. Vincente Lagos had failed to teach Syriac to his pupils and, therefore, Mar Joseph refused to ordain them.

The Jesuits repaired the blunder, and faithfully carried out the injunction of the Synod of Diamper, which demanded of the Aspirants to the Priesthood as great a knowledge of Syriac, as the Tridentine demanded of Latin. Fr. Roz taught Syriac for several years, and complained that Fr. De Brito—his successor on the See of Cranganore—did not know it.

On the other hand, Fr. De Brito—after he had become Archbishop—asked Fr. General to send two Jesuits to the Maronites in order to learn the language, so that they could teach later on in Vaipicota.

Great importance was given to the Liturgy and the correct way of administering the Sacraments. One Father was deputed to teach the *Casus*, which, we take it, meant Moral Theology.

We do not know how far the students were introduced into the realm of Dogmatic Theology and Holy Scripture, but we have reason to believe that it was sufficient for their needs.

We are not sure, but we believe, that the students were taught also Latin and Portuguese.

In the Seminary they wore a white garment, in the shape of a soutane. The Priests dressed in black, white or sky-blue.

In the Seminary there reigned a joyful charity and friendship, not only among the students themselves, but also between students and professors—which went a long way to mould the character of the young, and make them loyal and faithful Priests.

3. *Missions in the Serra.*—In the Annual of 1607, we read the report of a mission given by Fr. Fenicio at Palur: "I cannot"—so he writes—"easily describe the difficulties I encountered in going to Palur. It was midwinter (monsoon time) and the waters had flooded the roads, so that often they reached up to the armpits. The torrents had left their beds; the bridges were submerged. When I arrived at Palur, the Zamorin invited me to dinner. I put on, on purpose, a sad and serious countenance, and said I had taken food already. But he insisted so much, that, out of politeness I had to yield. I entered one of the inner halls and sat down. The Zamorin himself was presenting me the best foods and the most savoury sauces. Now who will not admire the kindness of this most powerful King? After dinner I came to business, and among other things I got permission to build four churches, one in the interior, which the Bishop of Angamale greatly desired, and three along the coast. But unfortunately, owing to lack of money I could not press the matter further. On the other hand, I regret it, for *fronte capillata est, post est occasio calva.*

"I determined to preach in four parishes, as the Bishop of Angamale had begged of me, but I stopped longer at this Church of St. Quiricus, which is very old and famous for miracles. . . . Two Kinglets, having in vain appealed to their idols, made vows in this Church with the object of getting an heir. God heard them. One determined to feed 500 or 1,000 of the faithful. The second called about 4,000. The

first then, not wanting to be beaten in generosity, is preparing a larger invitation. Knowing that great crowds would be coming, I adorned the Church and arranged a grand procession, which was much admired and praised." ... (2)

Later on, at the request of the Bishop of Angamale, Fr. Fenicio visited all the villages and parishes, for more than seventy miles, even down to Coulao (Quilon). The fruit was proportionate to the need and the desire of the people, who everywhere received him with festive joy. And when he was leaving they accompanied him with tears of regret, because he could not stay longer among them. He enjoyed such authority and veneration that he could do anything with them. No one was so steeped in hatred that, at his exhortations, he did not reconcile himself with his enemies. There were no quarrels which he did not manage to settle. He succeeded in reconciling several Parish Priests with their flocks. People who had not gone to confession for thirty or forty years were heard by him. He freed three or four from the devil. A woman, who was every month tormented by the devil, was liberated by tying the Gospel of Christ to her neck. "With these consolations did God temper the fatigues of the journeys, the dangers from the heathen and from the waters, which sometimes reached up to the neck. At times, the Father not knowing how to swim, two men raised him up and helped him to cross a river. But all, even the most difficult things, were made sweet by the love of God and the salvation of souls." So far the Annual Letter.

It will be instructive to reproduce here a letter of Fr. Campori, S.J., which gives a fair idea of the Missions in the Serra.

From

FATHER JOHN MARY CAMPORI

To

FATHER FRANCIS DE OLIVEYRA,
Rector of the College of Cranganore.

Vaipicota, 20th August 1618.

I experience a great repugnance to write this report, as I am naturally disinclined to write letters, and feel much

my insufficiency. Since by doing so I am sure to please Your Reverence and since it is the will of God, I shall briefly relate what the divine Majesty was pleased to work out through these profitless instruments, during the eleven months we spent in the Mission which we had undertaken among the St. Thomas Christians of the South, at your bidding, and at the request of the Lord Archbishop.

In all this time we visited eleven churches, stopping in each of them, according to the instructions received, only the number of days necessary for our purpose, *viz.*, the spiritual good of the Christians.

Everywhere the Christians gave us the most touching tokens of love, and welcomed us with an extraordinary joy. They supplied charitably and generously all our wants.

In a relation of this kind, it is very important, in order not to tire the reader, to avoid the recital of the same things, even notable, and to omit irrelevant particulars. This I will do. I shall not, therefore, mention the ordinary functions of our ministry, but I shall place them here, at the beginning. They were as follows:

In all churches in the morning, we made to the Christians assembled for the purpose, instructions on the mysteries of our faith, and the things most necessary of our holy religion. They listened with great pleasure, and drew much profit therefrom.

In the evening we taught Christian Doctrine to the children. During the day, we talked familiarly with the Secular Clergy of the things useful to their souls, and quite specially exhorting them to go to confession. In every church we had to hear nearly all the confessions of men and women, some of their whole life. To those who were capable of it, we gave the Blessed Sacrament. It was the custom that young men did not go to confession before they reached an advanced age.[2] We condemned this abuse and made them confess. We baptized also the children brought to us, distributed quantities of rosaries and other articles of piety, and taught them the method of meditating on the mysteries of

2 Elsewhere we read that both young men and young women did not go to confession before they were married.

the Rosary. We exercised these functions of our ministry always with the consent of the Vicar and of the other Priests of the place, who showed themselves very pleased, and helped us with all their might.

Now let us come to the detailed narrative of this holy expedition.

On the first day of our journey, in the middle of the river, we were assailed by a storm so furious that it might have made our boat capsize—and we should have all perished, if all, servants and boatmen, had not thrown themselves into the water to steady it. We were chiefly guarded by the Virgin Mother of God, whom we invoked with a *Sub tuum proesidium*—and after long exertions we finally reached the shore. It is to be remarked that quite at the beginning of the storm, a Diurnal badly bound and old, fell into the water, without going to the bottom, and was scarcely moistened except on the cover, although it was some time in the water.

The storm lasted all that day and the following night, without a minute's respite. One would say that the devil, jealous of the glory we were going to procure to God by means of these Missions, wanted to stop us, or at least to frighten us.

The following day we went on with our journey, until we reached the village of CATETE, on the territory of Tecan-cuter (?) (Tecancur) the starting point of our Mission. There, having been freed from reeds and streams, compelled, so to speak, by the goodwill of the Christians and the excess of work to be gone through, we stayed twenty-six days. Apart from the general things mentioned above, we brought about the reconciliation of two old Christians, who hated each other for many years, not without scandal. We got a woman of bad character and a cause of many sins, to be expelled from the place. There were also two principal families which were engaged in law suits on a certain inheritance for the last ten years. Thank God, we brought them to conclude a peaceful agreement.

All the clerics of the place have always been particularly well affected to the Fathers. They are pious, docile to their Prelate, anxious to work out their salvation. They wanted us to remain with them at least a year. It was, of course, impossible, but on taking leave of them we promised to come back.

Then we passed on to another place of the same kingdom of Tecancur, called CHANGANACHERRY. Those Christians are somewhat rustic, as it is only a short time since they came down from their forests, to people this place. Yet they welcomed us with great joy. The Cassanar, Vicar, is very zealous in the duties of his ministry—and the Christians were very busy with their rice fields. So we stayed here only ten days.

It is there where the Sub-Deacon, Thomas Chamas, a pupil of our Seminary at Vaipicota, with some of his relatives, came to fetch us in a boat, as the stream is very rapid and the voyage dangerous, to bring us to his own village, CALLICHERY.

There was also with us an old pagan, performer of sacrilegious and superstitious ceremonies. His office and that of his colleagues is to teach their disciples certain secret words which they recite to their idols, in order to obtain what they desire. They devoutly carry round their neck and on their arms certain charms. We had with him a long conversation in which it was easy enough to convince him of the truth of our holy faith, and of the falsehood of his own, but without further result. He acknowledged in private that all his mysterious prayers were human inventions to dupe the ignorant and make money, which is the supreme ambition of such Doctors. They usually teach them very secretly and with ridiculous ceremonies. The disciple must listen to them only with one ear, the other being shut, otherwise he would commit an enormous crime, worse than the murdering of a man.

There is in this Malabar a caste of pagan merchants called *Chettis*. If any of them, rich and influential, desires to obtain supreme happiness, he must entreat one of those *Swamis* to teach him the prayer necessary and efficacious for that purpose. He must also promise a round sum of money. The day of the ceremony being agreed upon, the disciple has himself shaved, as the bridegroom for the marriage, puts on his richest garments and most precious jewels, and thus attired, is accompanied by a large crowd that shouts loudly,

and with a most noisy instrumental music. When the time is come for the *Guru* (master) to tell the famous secret, in a very low voice he utters certain words in one of the ears, the other being shut, and at the same time, pours over his head buckets of water. If this man is lucky enough, amidst such deafening noise, to catch the words of the *Swami*, he is equipped for happiness. If not, he is excluded from it, without even the hope of reaching it. Anyhow, he is well drenched throughout and must defray all the expenses of the ceremony to the bystanders, besides the price agreed upon with the *Swami*, who is always of the winning party.

At Callicheri (Callisuri), the Vicar was on bad terms with his parishoners. But we succeeded in making peace. A means of binding the Priest to his duty was to secure for his maintenance a fixed income.

Shortly after our arrival there, my companion, Father John de Souza, was seized with a violent fever that lasted three days. We had no medicine. We had recourse to supernatural means. We promised three Masses to the glorious St. Lawrence, who at once restored the Father to health.

Hence we went to a Church more ancient, that of CHANGANA, on the other bank of the river,—and that at the request of the Vicar. He had sworn with other Cassanars, not to admit us. I do not know on what pretext. But having been our pupil, he felt ashamed of his conduct; and came twice to fetch us. He brought us to his Church and to his house, where he surrounded us with all attentions. He made a general confession, and helped us as much as he could, during our stay with him. Then he accompanied us to another Church, also entrusted to his care, that of MARAMANI.

We stayed there only five days, as the people were few, and we had but little work. At some distance of the village there lived a rich Christian whose wife had been laid up with illness for nearly a year. We went to visit her, gave her the last sacraments, and a few days later she made a holy death.

A Brahmin, the headman of this village, was opposed to the completion of the Church begun long before. On our arrival a certain Guripo, his Manager, one of the most celebrated fencing masters of the country, came to see us. We requested him to use his influence with the Brahmin to make

him cease his opposition. He promised to do so, and kept his promise. He had a leaning towards the Christian religion; as he showed by levying a tax on his disciples, Christians and pagans alike, in favour of a Christian orphan girl who was to be married.

In this same place a pagan prince, who could command 2,000 Nair soldiers, came to visit us. As we had a very short time at our disposal he requested us to stay on our way back, in order to talk with him leisurely. On our return we halted in the house of a Christian which he had appointed for our meeting, and he came at once accompanied with the Manager Guripo. After the usual salutations, he put us many questions about God, His nature, His attributes and the things of the life to come. He was satisfied with our answers. It was easy to convince him of the inanity of the idol worship and of the abomination of pagan rites. He dwelt chiefly on the transmigration of souls, the error common to all this country. After hearing our reasons, he would say: "Alas! how deceived we are; happy those who can follow the truth!"

Night came. We had to depart. He showed a genuine regret not to be able to detain us longer, in order to give up what he understood to be dupery and falsehood. He requested us again on our return from the South to give him a few days more. He is about 50 years of age,—leads a good life, as far as morals are concerned, and thirsts for learning. There is no doubt but that this chieftain and many other pagans of standing would get converted, if we cared to conform ourselves to their civil usages and customs, and if they could be fully persuaded that by embracing the new religion, they would not change their caste, and lose the ancient nobility of their race.

Having left this place, we went up the river in a boat as far as the Church of HERENATE, one of the most ancient of the Serra. The Vicar and the Christians had invited us and were awaiting us. The Church is situated in a deserted place, where no one could give us hospitality. The Sanctuary had just been under despair, and the Christians, dispersed far and wide, came with great zeal to listen to our instructions and receive the Sacraments.

The Chieftain of the place, of the caste of Rajahs, sent

us his Diwan, a Brahmin, to compliment us and offer presents. In turn, we sent two Cassanars to visit him in our name, excusing ourselves on the plea that being religious, we did not think it expedient to leave the Church to make visits. He approved of this motive. As a rule, pagans have a greater respect for the teachers of religion who keep recollected at home, and do not go about.

We stayed sixteen days in this Church.

Thence we went by land to the village of PIDIAGAM, in the kingdom of MARTA. On the following day one of the princes came to see us in the church. On the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, while we were giving an instruction on the Mystery of Jesus Crucified, the same Prince came suddenly to church. Before entering he asked for permission, which we granted most willingly. He sat down on a low seat, amidst the Christians in the middle of the church, and after listening for some time, he retired very politely. Those pagans come usually merely out of curiosity, not for the sake of learning the truth; yet I thought it well to relate this fact, because it shows that there is cause to thank our Lord when we see those pagan Lords receive us in their territory with so great a respect, and the good which ensues therefrom for our Christians, for the contempt which the pagans of the South profess towards the Franguis and their religion gradually diminishes.[3] This contempt in which the Franguis are held is due chiefly to the fact that the Franguis deal unreservedly with low caste people which the pagans view with loath and horror.

In that church our instructions on confession were attended with most extraordinary fruits, especially amongst the young men who had never confessed before.

We took leave of those good people. We had to pass on the territory of another King called CARIMPALI, and on our way, we had to pass also through the Estate of the King of CALLICULAM, who was actually at war with that of Marta. On that account the Christians desired that we should be accompanied by some Cassanars, and two of the principal Christians held in great esteem by all the Chieftains of the South. One of them was the fencing-master of most of these kings. This precaution was not useless. At a moment when the two Christians were at some distance from the party, one of the Nairs of the King of Calliculam wanted to arrest us, pretending that we were two Franguis on an errand. But on seeing the two Christians, he allowed us to pass, and apologized on the plea that he did not know who we were. We reached the village of CARTIAPALLI, not without some fatigue. We stopped there for twenty days which were all well employed. From that place we visited two neighbouring churches; in one of them we baptized three adults, and married in *facie Ecclesiæ* several couples who had been married without the Priest, in their houses.

[3] Frangui or Prangui was the name given to the Portuguese by the Indians of the sixteenth century.

In the church at CARTIAPALLI, we established the Mass of the Saturdays in honour of our Blessed Lady, and to the profit of the Vicar and of all the country. The Chieftain of the place rejoiced at it. He wanted us to go to his house to see him. We excused ourselves as we had done elsewhere.

In order to thank God for all the benefits received during the Mission, the Christians made a most solemn procession. It went round the village, on a Saturday evening, an immense concourse of people and a profusion of lights accompanying the reliquary and the image of our Lady which we carry with us everywhere.

When we left them two days later, the Christians gave signs of the deepest sorrow at our departure. They by all means wanted to follow us, in arms, as far as the village of CUNAMCOLANGARES on the territory of the King of PANAPALLI.

At CUNAMÇOLANGARES we stayed twenty-five days, during which the Christians availed themselves well of the opportunity for converting themselves and giving up occasions of sin in which they had lived for years.

In this village the pagans exceeded those of all the other villages in giving to the Fathers signs of their esteem and reverence. Canhur Panikal, the Diwan of the Kingdom (REGIDOR MOR), came to visit us, and nearly every day, during our stay there, himself personally or members of his family

came to talk familiarly with us. They often brought other pagans, who were present at the catechism which we taught to the children every evening. Another Regidor came also to see us. On his arrival we wanted to get up, but he did not allow it, and refused even to sit down, in spite of our entreaties, saying that it was neither decent nor lawful to sit in presence of the Masters of Divine Law. We received also at the gate of the church the visit of certain Brahmins, managers of a famous pagoda of the place, and other personages, one of them being a Caimal, a very intelligent youth, who professed the spiritual law called *Gnanam.* As he did not know who we were, he came with an assuming tone and asked us several questions on God. But our answers made him humble and meek. During our conversation, we touched on supreme happiness and the transmigration of souls. He was astounded to hear those things, so new to him and yet so natural and conformable to reason, and left us promising to come back in order to discuss things of so great moment. But it seems that the devil put some obstacle on his way.

A Nair, advanced in age, an intimate friend of the Diwan mentioned above, availed himself better of the opportunity. Nearly every day he came to church, to listen to the things of salvation, and proved so docile in receiving our Holy Law, that afterwards he came to see us in the church of Tevalicarai. After having been sufficiently instructed, he received holy baptism, to the great consolation of his soul. Three months later he came to see us, with extreme fatigue, in a church distant from his native place five Malabar leagues (equal at least to ten of ours). He wished to learn by heart a prayer, short and substantial, as he said, for he had no more memory to learn the longer ones. The prayer we taught him in Malabar was as follows: "Jesus Christ, my God, save me." He learnt it, and in order not to forget it, he went on repeating it frequently during one day and one night, and went back to his house quite happy.

The St. Thomas Christians are in the habit, when sick, to have some passage of the Gospel read over them by the Priests, and also to have sentences from the Gospel written down and placed in little gold or silver cylinders or lockets, which they carry tied to their arm, as a remedy against

disease, and a safeguard against the devils.[4] So that wherever we happened to pass we had much to do to content those who, by all means, desired to get those little papers. In this church, this task assumed such proportions that we were unable to satisfy every one. Not only Christians, small and big, but even pagans, entreated us for them, and often had recourse to a third person to get them. So, we had to yield to such importunities. Canhur Panikal, the Diwan, was not satisfied with one for himself. He wanted some for his sisters and nephews. Our Lord often rewards the faith of those who ask for those papers, by restoring them to health. It proved true chiefly in this village. A noble Christian, having been told that one of his nieces who had given birth to a child, was very ill and in a hopeless condition, came to us for a remedy. We gave him one of those papers on which were written the words: *Et verbum caro factum est.* Scarcely had he placed it on the sick woman, that she was suddenly cured, to the astonishment of all. After which, the Christians came to thank God for this prodigious event.

We were bent on leaving the place; we had established the Saturday Mass in honour of the Blessed Virgin, when the Regidor Mor (Diwan) compelled us to make a solemn procession with the relics and the image of the Blessed Virgin, for the benefit of the country, as he said, which was torn by long-standing internal feuds. It took place amidst torch-lights, and with an immense concourse of pagans.

The rumour had been spread that some powerful pagans, hostile to the Christians of CALLICULAM, would not allow us to pass through their territory on our way to Calliculam. The Christians, therefore, followed us, with an armed force, when we started for Calliculam. But this precaution was not necessary; we reached Calliculam without encountering

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[4] Father de Nobili and the missionaries of the Madura Mission, made a frequent use of these words of the Gospel, with their neophytes. God was often pleased to work wonderful cures by this means. By so doing the missionaries counteracted the evil influence of the *mandiracarers,* so numerous in S. India, and substituted the sacred text to the *Tayttu* (தாயத்து) which Indians wear round their neck as talisman, and which contains cabalistic words.

the least opposition. There the Christians wanted to surpass all others, both in the way they welcomed us, and in the manner they profited by our presence. During the twenty-six days we spent there, we had to make public instructions on the mysteries of our faith, without counting the private instructions during the day. They were eager to hear of the things of God and of salvation. Certain parishoners lived one or two leagues away from the Church; yet they did not fail to come for confession, and to listen to the preaching.

At some distance of this village is found another, inhabited by high caste pagans called MANAVALENMARES. They are rich and influential, and lead the King as they please. They were opposed to the Christians, and on their account the great door of the church remained permanently closed. It was five years since it had not been opened. However, at the request of the Christians, we opened it on a Sunday, for a solemn procession. Everyone was delighted at it, and our enemies themselves applauded. Shortly after our arrival, in order to sound us, those pagans sent secretly for a small paper, for a woman of their caste, suffering from an incurable disease which, as far as we could judge, seemed to be cerebral gout (*la goutte cerebrale*). We gave it at once, and for their confusion, our Lord was pleased that on the paper being placed on her, she began to feel better, and later on was altogether cured. They were dumbfounded, and from that day were less ill-disposed towards our religion. Some of them visited us with great civility. They were also struck to see with what regard some big personages dealt with us. The Diwan Canhur Panikal signalled himself amongst all. He came five times to visit us from his distant place. The queen herself, having heard much about us, conceived a great esteem for us, and sent for one of the little papers with the words of the Gospel. For she was in her seventh month, and she was afraid to die of child-birth, as one of her sisters had done the previous year. She even offered us money, imagining that we were like her *Swamis* and Brahmins, who act only out of temporal interest. We sent back her money, together with the paper, through a Christian of rank, adding that if she wished to derive the full benefit of the divine words, she should throw away the superstitious talismans of her *Swamis*,

and favour the Christians and their church. She promised to do so. When her time came, she gave birth, without great pains, to a prince, thus causing great joy to the King and to the kingdom. For there was no other natural heir to the throne, and a stranger should have been sent for, to become King, according to the custom of this country.

Being aware that among those Christians there were many enmities of long-standing, we profited by the occasion of a large gathering to preach on the forgiveness of injuries, dwelling chiefly on the story of St. John Gualbert. The fruit of the sermon was marvellous. The enemies reconciled themselves. Some of them had previously baffled the efforts of the King to make peace, as he feared lest murders might be the sequel of those enmities. The pagans were much struck by the result of the preaching of the Fathers. They even reproached the Christians with listening more willingly to their words than to those of their King. But the Christians answered: "If we disobey the King, we may at the utmost fear to be exiled from this kingdom. But disobeying the words of our Priests means to us the loss of our eternal happiness."

Those Christians would have kept us at least two months. But, having completed our task by establishing there also the Saturday Mass in honour of the Blessed Virgin, we went to the Church of TEVALICARAI, in the Kingdom of Coulam.

There we found the Clergy divided on account of the parochial rights, and the "*casual*" income from the Church. So that they cared very little for the spiritual welfare of the people. They neither baptized, nor confessed, nor said Mass, except when they were paid for it. We endeavoured to reconcile them, and in order to prevent dissensions in the future, we made an agreement in writing, in presence of all the Christians. So that there would always be holy Mass on Sundays and on Saturdays. Out of thirteen children we baptized, four were already grown up and able to walk.

Having finished our work, we went to spend the Christmas festivities with our Fathers at Coulam.

Formerly there was there a large number of St. Thomas Christians, and more than 700 years ago, they had a church in the very place where the cathedral and the fortress stand at present. Great privileges and revenues had been given them

by the kings, as I intend to relate it in *extenso* another time, if it so pleases God. But after the coming of the Portuguese, and as a sequel of the wars, their number has greatly diminished. They are now very few, and those few assemble in a small church they have built outside the fortress, at UPPER COULAM (coulam da Cima). It is there we stayed a few days to console them and administer the Sacraments. The kings of the country had prevented them from levying certain revenues and tributes belonging to the church. We went to visit those kings in person and prevailed upon them to withdraw their orders, and to allow the Christians themselves to perceive those rights. Everybody was surprised at the quickness with which that affair was ended. For usually it takes much time and many bribes, to get any favour from those kings.

We had reached the southern extremity of our Mission. We therefore changed our direction and went to the East, to the church of Eundra (?), where the Christians although dispersed and distant from the church, came to listen to our instructions and receive the Sacraments. A few pagans came also, among whom an old Nair, of a respectable family, and a carpenter, clever in his art, felt inclined to ask for baptism. But as there were difficulties in admitting them there, they were told to defer their baptism to a later time and at another place. We tried in vain to induce a soldier to forgive his enemy. He refused, and soon received the punishment of his obstinacy, by a premature and painful death, without confession and burial.

There we received letters from the Lord Archbishop and Father Provincial, ordering Father John de Sousa to go to Madura, and myself to visit an old settlement of St. Thomas Christians in Travancore, about twenty-five Malabar leagues from Coulam. Those poor sheep belonging to the fold of the Serra, were deprived of the spiritual nourishment of Christian doctrine and the Sacraments, and were in great need of being comforted. The name of this village is TARIDACAL. Although few in number (between men and women they do not reach 200), they are considered by the pagans as of noble birth and of high standing. They have free entrance to the palace, their office being to supply all the needs of the king: so

that they have no intercourse, not only with low caste people, but even with Portuguese and the other St. Thomas Christians. But they follow their civil customs in everything.

Never on the Travancore Coast do they allow our Fathers to enter their churches, because they deal with Mucuvers and other low caste people. They feel the greatest aversion to our usages and our garment. When it was question for me to enter their church they wondered at my boldness. So, using the permission Your Reverence had given me in the name of Father Provincial, myself and the Seminarists who accompanied me put aside the black cassock, to don a white dress. We remained there twenty-three days, to cultivate those Christians, who on the whole welcomed us much better than we might have hoped for.

Having no intercourse with the other Christians, deprived of Priests and Catechists, those people had been so far remote from the truth and the Christian profession, that they had kept idols to which they publicly offered sacrifices, and practised all sorts of superstitions usually connected with devil worship. But the Prelates having sent them a few Priests, the idols were removed, a decent church built, and good Christian manners restored. Owing to the zeal of the Archbishop, during these latter years, they finally conformed themselves to the other Christians in all matters essential, *viz.*, the administration of the Sacraments, the fasts, festival days, etc. I would not swear that some of them secretly do not go back to the onions of Egypt. We found there an idol of stone, which our disciples together with the catechism children broke into pieces.

A Christian of noble birth, and about sixty years of age, a widower, takes care of that church. As far as I was able to ascertain during my stay in the village, this good man has received the gift of mental prayer, to which he devotes a good part of his days and nights, with great attention. The king has assigned a pension to him, as he considers him a saint. On his way to the palace, to fetch his food, he constantly prays, and does not salute anybody, even the king. He takes great care of the church which is scrupulously clean. Twice a day he recites aloud a portion of Christian doctrine, the mysteries of the Rosary and other devout prayers.

It would seem he has the gift of prophecy. All I can say is that when we reached there, at nightfall, on a Saturday, we found him in the church, on his knees before the altar all decorated and all the lamps lighted. As an explanation for his conduct he said that Our Lady had revealed to him that a priest was to come to say Mass. In fact our departure for that place had been so sudden, that he could not have had any hint of our coming. During our stay he was very useful by his zeal and charity.

Our ministry being over, we went to COLACHEL. It was the hot season. There we took again our black cassock. We went on foot along the sea shore of Travancore, as far as Coulam, and on our way we had all the leisure to visit those churches and Christian communities. It was a heart-rending sight.[5] In some of them at the request of the Vicars themselves, who everywhere received us very kindly, we heard confessions and gave some instructions, in Malabar. We were unable to resist the importunities of those Christians, who accompanied us and left us bathed in tears.

After our arrival at Coulam, we took a few days' rest, at the beginning of Lent. Then I proceeded to CARAMANATE, one of the principal centres of the St. Thomas Christians in the South. There was then an epidemic of smallpox of a very virulent type. The church was deserted, and the Christians full of terror and sorrow. Our coming brought fresh courage to some of them, who came to church. We visited all the sick, heard their confessions, and comforted them. It so pleased our Lord that the scourge gradually diminished and soon entirely disappeared. Christians and pagans alike, tracing this mercy of God to our presence in their midst, wanted us to stay to the end of Lent. We were about to depart, when Father de Sousa came back from Madura. We went on with our exercises till the Octave of Easter, when we left for another church, that of Tumbone (Toumba). We stayed there only ten days, as we had no more time at our disposal.

5 Father Campori alludes here to the deplorable state of those churches brought about 10 years before by the removal of the religious of the Society of Jesus from the Fishery and the Travancore Coast, at the bidding of the Bishop of Cochin. They returned only in 1621.

Your Reverence had written to us to put an end to our Mission and to come back soon to this College of Cranganore. On the other hand, all the Christians of the South entreated us to go to Cochin, there to plead for the liberty of a Christian from Coulam, who was being kept as prisoner to the grief of all. We had therefore to cut short everything and to make haste, both to terminate the business and obey Your Reverence's order.

I commend myself to the holy Sacrifices of Your Reverence.

Of Your Reverence
the unworthy servant
JOHN MARY CAMPORI.

VAIPICOTA COLLEGE,
20th August 1618.

The year 1640 was remarkable for the zeal which the Fathers displayed in the Serra, under the leadership of the seventy years old Archbishop Brito, and of his coadjutor, Bishop Garcia. The latter was most edifying. He was truly poor, having nothing more to live on than the 500 pardaos, which he received from the King. "He spends all, works more than anybody else, goes to the most remote villages, where no Prelate has ever set foot before."

In this visitation he was accompanied by the great missionary, Father Hyacinth de Magistris, whose fervour was so great that—as the writer remarks—"*non est qui se abscondat a calore ejus*".

There was a great stir, and everywhere great preparations to receive the Bishop. The Christians were proud to have him amongst them, not only because he would administer confirmation, but also because the heathen would be greatly impressed by the pomp and circumstance of the reception and of the ceremonies of the Church.

The Cattanars reformed their lives; the people were converted to greater purity and holiness. For the Bishop was severe towards evil doers. But, of all the fines which he imposed on them, he kept nothing for himself, but spent all for the churches and the poor. Thanks to the zeal of Fr. De Magistris, many were reconciled, and hatred was extinguished.

In some places the people did not know what Confirmation was. A Cattanar, moved by the devil, decided to create trouble.

Since the Bishop was not accompanied by the Archdeacon, he began to say that the Bishop had beaten the Christians, wherever he had been. He, of course, alluded to, and misrepresented the ceremony of Confirmation. The people rose in revolt. But the thing was explained to them, and then they fell on their knees before the Bishop. The Cattanar was punished, and the people confirmed.

The Rajahs considered it an honour that a great Prelate had come to their dominions, and offered him presents. Both heathens and Christians profess a great devotion to the Gospel of St. John, owing to the miracles wrought through it. Many carry it in a silver casket, round their arms. Fr. De Magistris wrote out passages from the Gospel and distributed them among the people. Married women were blessed with offspring through the intercession of St. Francis Xavier. A Christian, who had been mangled by a falling tree, prayed to St. Thomas and was healed.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

1 *Two Letters from Fr. Fenicio.*—The first was written in 1584, to Fr. General Aquaviva, before his great mission in Calicut. Fr. Fenicio writes:

"I am here in a residence attached to the College of Cochin, with three churches under it; one of Thomas Christians, the other two of new converts; one dedicated to St. James and the other to St. Andrew. It is a matter of great sorrow to see the misery and the darkness in which these Gentiles are living.

They adore the sun, the moon, and the other creatures. They are full of superstitions and idols, to which they do all sorts of ceremonies, feasts and dances. These are so continuous that day and night we hear nothing but festivities; now in one pagan house and now in another. It seems really that the devil holds here a principal part of his dominion. And all this devotion does not arise from love towards the gods, for they know that there is only one God, Creator of heaven, and that the pagodas are not gods. But they seem to believe that these pagodas are great lords, and that they alone distribute health and sickness and the other goods and evils of this life. And so they spend their time in feasting the pagodas, forgetting the true God, Who, as they say, does not help them in their infirmities.

The other day, as I was speaking about this matter with a Gentile (who, at the end of the talk, was telling me that he would become a Christian), he remarked:—'If I were in the middle of the sea, without water, dying of thirst, who would help me, who would make the water drinkable, God or the pagodas?'—as if he implied the pagodas and not God. But in such great blindness God does not fail to illuminate some, who, convinced by the arguments we bring forward, confess that what they believe of their pagodas is false, and many cease to offer them sacrifices. The greatest part would embrace Christianity were they not afraid lest the king should deprive them of their goods. Yet on the feast of St. Andrew we baptized one of the Lords, who has under him about 300 soldiers. About 200 could have received the Sacrament, only that they had not been instructed properly, and so only 20 were baptized. The others meanwhile will speak with the king and will ask his leave. Of the Christians of St. Thomas I do not know what to say. Some places that are cultivated and visited by Ours, go on pretty well; but others—and they are many—where, owing to the scarcity of missionaries, the Society cannot go, they are like gentiles, and are Christians only in name. Some tried to persuade me to go for a little while to those peoples, saying that within a short time infinite numbers would be baptized, many of whom are old, with a white beard, and yet they are not baptized. But to this great and extreme necessity God has provided, for the new Viceroy, who is coming this year from Portugal brings orders from the Pope and from King Philip to build a seminary for the boys of the Thomas Christians, where they will be taught according to our manner. We hope that this will soon be started with God's help." The letter is dated the 19th December 1584.

The great zeal of Fr. Fenicio is already apparent. As time goes on how much he will work both among the Portuguese and the Indians, the old Christians and the new converts!

Thus in another letter, dated 1600, to Rev. Fr. General, and which, I believe, is worth printing fully, Fr. Fenicio writes:—

"I felt great consolation in the Lord that this occasion was offered to me to write to Your Paternity. The old memories are revived, and I seem to see you again and hear those words full of affection which Your Paternity was wont to address to us, when exhorting us to live in the spirit and I feel great tenderness of heart, as a son towards his most beloved father. If I have not written so far, it is because I know how busy Your Paternity is, and I do not wish to take up your most precious time.

Now, my Rev. Father, it is about twenty years that I am here, and I am in good health, even better than in Europe; and as to the spirit, I am quite happy. My occupation during this time has been the conversion of infidels along this coast, from Cochin to Coulano, and it was not without fruit, blessed be God. We have built many churches and many were converted to our Holy Faith and many are converted every day, but with great labour, for the land is one of the most barren which the Society

has here. There are many Kinglets, and all have to be satisfied. In the beginning no one could be converted without their leave, and they were all opposed to conversions. But now we have all power, and are like unto one of them. And all respect us greatly, both us and our people; and all are our friends. Those who oppose conversions cannot prevent them as much as they would wish. This year the Raja of Cochin gave us leave to build a church in a place nine leagues from Cochin. After it had been built, seeing that many were disposed to be baptized, he ordered the church to be pulled down and the Cross to be taken away. But we, having come to know of it, have compelled him through the Captain of Cochin, to build it again better than before. And he ordered that some of his vassals should be executed. After Christmas we put up another Cross with great solemnity in a place given to us by the Raja as a kind of atonement. So we are fighting against *filios iniquitatis*, from whom the Lord deliver us, as He has delivered me from the invisible foes by the grace granted to the Society. And as I have begun, I shall not hesitate to open to you the secret of my heart. Some days back it was proposed to send me to a new mission among certain gentiles called Malias, who have asked for baptism. *Exultavit spiritus meus,* thinking of the past, of the storms I have overcome, now that I was feeling secure in the harbour.

I have received a letter from Fr. Nicholas Pimenta, where he asks me whether I have given up my goods. To which I answer: No; for when I left Europe for India I was in the second year of my Novitiate and the Superiors did not speak to me about this matter, neither then, nor later. And I did not care to do it, for my patrimony is small, and my relations are poor."

[2] In a pamphlet printed at Trichur in 1926 by Manhali Varghese (*A Brief History of Palayar Church, etc.*), we read the following: "The edifice of the sacred and the principal temple of Palayur which was converted into the first Christian church of the place in the time of St. Thomas and which existed on the present site, was believed to be one built with stone foundation and wooden walls and roofs of sandal and teak woods. Although there were buildings subsequently erected and attached to it, this original edifice was regarded as very sacred by the people, and it continued to exist though in a very old and ruinous condition for many centuries with timely repairs. When in Portuguese times, a *certain European missionary* tried to build a new-fashioned church on the site, the people objected to dismantle the old wooden building and the missionary was thereby compelled to give up the idea of dismantling it and he built a big church enclosing the old and impaired wooden building within the walls of the new one. But gradually the inner church is said to have been demolished or dismantled in course of time." (Pp. XI–XII.)

The European missionary was none other than Fr. Fenicio. He says: "The stone church, which had been begun two years previously was already finished. Inside there remained the old one made of wood; but no one dared dismantle it for fear of dying on the spot. I then preached a sermon to them, by which I dissipated their fears. Immediately they pulled down the wooden church, remaining the new one made of stone, so beautiful and capacious that we cannot get it cleared of Gentiles, Moors and Jews, who came to see it with greater curiosity than devotion." (*Guerreiro, Relaciam, etc.*, p. 119b.)

CHAPTER XVI

WITNESSES OF CHRIST EVEN UNTO DEATH

(1549–1640)

In order to determine whether a person is a martyr in the Catholic and traditional sense of the word, three things have to be established; first *the fact* that he died a violent death; second *the way* how he died, *i.e.*, patiently and not fighting; third *the motive* for which he died, *viz.*, *in odium fidei*, in hatred of the faith, in defence of some Christian virtue. Here we write as historians, not as theologians. Therefore, our main concern is to establish the facts. We leave it to our readers to draw their own conclusions.

We are chiefly concerned with people who shed their blood on the West Coast of India, though we shall mention a few who were killed on the Fishery Coast and in Ceylon, for the Malabar Province extended its jurisdiction over both.

We have already spoken of Fr. De Covilham and of the noble Franciscans who were massacred during the first years of the Portuguese in India. We shall begin with

THE FIRST JESUIT MARTYR

1. Padre Antonio Criminale (1549)

Three years after the landing of St. Francis Xavier in Goa, three new Fathers, Padre Antonio Criminale, Italian, Padre Nicolas Lancillotti, also from Italy and Padre John De Beira, a Spaniard, arrived in India. St. Francis, writing from Malacca in December 1545, ordered Fr. Criminale and Fr. De Beira to go to the Fishery Coast, and Fr. Lancillotti to remain in Goa, in the College of Santa Fe.

Whilst waiting for their destination, Fr. Criminale and Fr. De Beira lived in the College; the former in charge of the sacristy, the latter at the door.

In 1546 they left for the South. The first impressions of Fr. De Beira on the Christians of Cape Comorin are

conveyed in a letter quoted by Fr. Cross.[1] "We have found numerous churches here, where Religion grows and prospers by the observance of the arrangements made by Master Francis. It is wonderful to see the children come to church every morning and evening, to recite the catechism and to hear it explained. On Saturday the women, and the men on Sunday, spend two hours in the church to learn the prayers, the ten commandments, the method of general confession, and to praise God, Who has brought them from darkness to light. Already no trace or mention of idolatry. God has made use of Master Francis to work so much good, and there was much sorrow and regret when he left this place."

In 1546 St. Francis wrote from Malacca, calling Mansilhas and De Beira to the Moluccas. Mansilhas refused to go and was later on dismissed from the Society. De Beira sailed from Goa in April 1547. In December of the same year St. Francis left Malacca for Goa. He landed at Cochin on the 12th January 1548, and from there he proceeded to the East Coast "where there are more than 200,000 Christians, spread over 70 to 80 leagues, under the care of our Fathers and Brothers."[2] He appointed Superior Fr. Antony Criminale, "who visits the whole coast every month". Xavier gathered all the Missionaries in Manapad, and spent fifteen days with them, speaking with each one of them, getting himself acquainted with all their difficulties, comforting and encouraging them. On leaving them he wrote some interesting instructions, which we have summarized in another Chapter. St. Francis then went to Goa and from there sailed for Japan in 1549. He had not yet reached Malacca, when in May or June 1549 Padre Criminale was killed at Bedala or Vedalai.

The causes of his death were as follows: Profiting by the disorder reigning in the country, some Portuguese had come over from Ceylon and had established a kind of factory on the low sand banks of Vedalai (1520). Captain John Correa, noticing the great number of pilgrims that were going to the temple of Rama, at the very end of the Peninsula, thought

[1] Vol. 1, p. 328.

[2] Letter of Fr. Francis Perez.

of obstructing their passage, with a view to levy tribute from them.

To free themselves from this the guardians of the temple appealed to the neighbouring Marava Chiefs. At their approach Fr. Criminale was instructing the Christians of the village which had sprung up around the factory. The Portuguese, frightened by overwhelming numbers, took refuge in their ships. Fr. Anthony ran to them, imploring them to come to the rescue of the helpless villagers on whom they had brought such disaster. They refused. The villagers, realising that the enemy was very near, took to their heels.

Fr. Anthony, seeing the great confusion, directed them to some boats and endeavoured to provide first for the safety of the women and children. Seeing the enemy pressing on, he fell on his knees, and offered up his life to God. They slashed his body with their swords, and finally cut off his head.

Fr. De Souza tells us that the body was quickly covered with sand by the Christians. The next day Captain Correa's nephew returned to the spot and gave the Father a more honorable burial in the river bed. When, some months later, they returned to take the sacred remains away, the burial place could not be identified. The winds had swept away the sand, which had been heaped up on the tomb, and all was a dead level.[3]

The preceding January St. Francis had written to St. Ignatius "Antonio Criminale is at Comorin with six others. Believe me, he is a Saint. He was born to cultivate these lands". After Fr. Criminale's death, Padre Henriquez was elected by the other Fathers to take charge of the mission. He wrote "Dear Fathers and Brothers: how lonely we feel without him. His death has saddened our Christians, and we all are orphans now". Fr. Anthony Gomez, upon hearing the sad news, wrote: "Jesus Christ our Lord does not forget his Company. Behold Fr. Criminale crowned with martyrdom. I shall endeavour to find and to guard his remains. They are a precious treasure, which God gives to the Society of Jesus."[4]

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[3] *Or. Conq.* c2. d.I.n.54.

[4] *Cf.* L. Besse, S.J., *op. cit.* pp. 354–55, 378–80 and Fr. J. Castets, S.J., *The Ven. Anthony Criminale.* (Trichinopoly, St. Joseph's Press.)

2. Brother Louis Mendez, S.J. (1554?)

Among the Rajahs who lived near the Fishery Coast there was the custom to allow their chieftains to plunder villages and towns, provided they shared with them part of the booty.

Brother Mendez was instructing in the faith one of the chief Parava villages, when the people, fearing an incursion from Travancore, asked the protection of the Naick of Madura. But a Travancorean free-booter took his chance, and plundered the village. The people complained to the Naick, who sent his troops to avenge them.

The Rajah of Travancore resented the interference of the Naick, and, being unable to punish him, sent his soldiers to the village with orders to massacre the inhabitants. They came by night, and the poor people, terrorized, fled to the little chapel, where Br. Mendez was praying. He comforted them as well as he could. Meanwhile the soldiers heaped dry straw and wood around the sacred building meaning to set fire to it. Brother Mendez came out and begged of them to desist, for in the church there were only some helpless old men and a few women and children.

While he was pleading, a soldier struck him with the sword and he fell. He then pierced him with a lance, and finally, seeing that he was still lingering, cut off his head.[5]

3. Martyrdom of a Boy from Goa (1563)

We shall translate here the story of the martyrdom of a Portuguese boy, which took place near Badagara, within the dominions of Kunhale. Somewhere between 1560 and 1570 two merchant ships were sailing from Cambala to Goa, when they met a fleet of Malabar pirates, by whom they were taken. One of the Portuguese prisoners, who was married in Goa, had with him his son, of twelve or thirteen years, who had been born in the same city. The Capitao Mor of the Malabares caught the child, and caressing him, put on his head a Moorish cap. The father of the boy felt that very much, and one day found an opportunity of addressing him as follows:—"How can you, my love, seek your own loss and

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[5] *Cf.* Fr. L. Besse, S.J., *La Mission du Madure,* p. 382; D. Bartoli, S.J., *L'Asia,* Lib. VI, pp. 67–69.

my dishonour? As father I gave you life with great love, as teacher I brought you up in the Law of Jesus Christ, Redeemer of the world, in which have lived and died your forefathers, as good faithful Catholics, for we know that in this Law we can gain eternal life. Persevere, child of my heart, in the faith which you have received in holy baptism: preserve the grace of the Sacrament of Confirmation, in which you were made knight of Christ, to suffer affronts and even death for His love. Jesus Christ, Who has rescued you with His most precious blood, will reward you by giving you the crown of martyrdom, were you so fortunate as to give your life in testimony of our holy faith. Do not be deceived by this son of the devil, disciple of Mafamede (Mahomed), who, on account of his wickedness, was condemned to eternal fire. Do not be afraid, for you will not lose your life, but you will preserve it for all eternity, in company of the blessed and of the Virgin Our Lady, who will receive you in heaven as her son, and will feast you as a martyr. Do not be frightened by your tender age to suffer torments, for divine grace does not look at the age, but helps the grown-up as well as the young. In God's own cause grace will look to his honour and to your innocence, and will give you strength to suffer and perseverance to win. Christ invites you to heaven, this Moor seeks to speed you on to hell; it is better to go young to heaven than to fall into hell after many years. As to myself, remember that I cannot have greater honour than to be a martyr's father. On the contrary, I should die of sorrow and shame were I called the father of a renegade." The child, with tears in his eyes asked pardon for the scandal he had given in accepting the cap, said that he would never give up Christ for Mafamede, and promised that, with God's grace, he would rather die than fail.

The Moors having reached the Kunhale's stronghold, divided among themselves the booty and the prisoners. The Captain kept the child to himself, for he wanted to marry him to his own daughter. And since he could not imagine that there would be any resistance, he got everything ready for the circumcision. The father was present, and since he could do nothing else, he was knocking at heaven's gates with fervent prayers and constant tears; and whenever he met his boy,

he exhorted him to suffer a thousand deaths rather than deny Our Lord Jesus Christ. On the day fixed for the impious ceremony the Cacizes got everything ready and took the child to the place prepared. But before arriving there the boy cried out, "Where do these people take me? Why so much honour for a poor slave? If you think you will make a Mahomedan of me, undeceive yourselves, for I shall die rather than exchange Baptism for circumcision, and Christ's law for the cursed law of Mohamed. I believe in the Most Holy Trinity; all my forefathers died in this holy faith, and I too hope to die in it; for most surely there is no other way to salvation. Do not think that you will deceive me for being young, because by the mercy of God I have light enough to discern good from evil, and the truth of the Gospel from the falsehood of the Alkoran. Small is my strength to resist your torments, but my Lord and Saviour, Whom I adore as my God and love as my Redeemer, will fortify me so that I shall not fear your cruelties. Only through the inexperience of youth did I accept a Moor's cap; I did not do it to dishonour my faith. Know you that I do not care for your promises, nor do I fear your threats." The Moors were astonished at such courage. Yet did the Captain dissimulate, and to further his designs, did he make his daughter come in beautifully dressed. She was of about the same age as the boy, and as she was well-primed, she put on his head a cap, which she was carrying in her hands. The boy threw it away. She repeated the same thing a second time, with great charm and freedom. But the boy threw the cap under foot, and treated the girl with such contempt that she was ashamed and withdrew. One of the bystanders got so furious at the contempt shown to the Captain and to the law of Moors that he hit the boy with the sword, and cut off his foot. The young hero fell to the ground, but the Moor did not feel compassion at the sight of the blood, but like a furious beast, with a second stroke he cut off his head. The father was present, and he rejoiced more to see the head rolling on the ground than he would have rejoiced to see it crowned with a glorious crown. Similarly all the Portuguese that were present praised the Lord, and when they were rescued from captivity, they related in Goa the circumstances of the glorious martyrdom. The body

was thrown into the sea; for that barbarous country was unworthy to preserve such a treasure. Fr. Sebastian Gonsalves says that he could never discover the name of the glorious martyr; but it matters little, for his name is written in the book of life." So far Fr. De Souza.[5a]

4. Martyrdom of Five Paravars (1566)

Three years later a ship, manned by Portuguese and Paravars, was sailing towards Cochin. Soon after it had doubled Cape Comorin, it was attacked by the Moors, who took it and made all on board prisoners. Hoping to get a good ransom, they carefully guarded the Portuguese. But they tried to pervert the Paravars, who were too poor to be ransomed. These generous Christians preferred death to apostasy. With the Rosary round their necks, they knelt down and were beheaded. One, however, was spared; we do not know why. Their names are written in the book of life.[6]

5. Franciscan, Jesuit and Other Martyrs (1568)

We have read of the perpetual wars between the West Coast Princes and the Portuguese. The Zamorin ships were ever on the alert, ready to swoop upon the European sails; and the Portuguese, on the other hand, retaliated with equal fury. The victims of these wars were not martyrs. But at times it happened that the Portuguese ships carried religious and priests, whose mission was not war but peace, who did not risk their lives for the glory of Portugal or to extend her commercial ventures, but solely to spread the Kingdom of Christ. Some times they were killed in the fury of battle, and then, though not martyrs in the technical sense of the word, for they were not killed *in odium fidei*, yet the shedding of their blood received a special sanctity from the sanctity of their mission. At other times they were taken alive, they were tempted to renounce Christ, they were offered freedom, but they resisted bravely even unto death. Then surely they share the glory of the first witnesses of Christ.

In 1568 a Portuguese warship was sailing from Cochin

[5a] *Or. Conq.*, pp. 125–27.

[6] *Cf.* L. Besse, S.J., *La Mission du Madure*, p. 392.

to Goa with 150 noblemen on board, besides the crew. Among them there were a Franciscan Father, whose name is not recorded, a candidate for the Society, who was going to Goa to begin his Noviciate, and four Jesuits; Fr. Antonio Lopez, of 39 years of age, who had been Rector at Quilon, and who was a good preacher, Br. Antony Diniz, a Deacon, and a student of Theology, and Brs. John Carvalho and Manuel Lobo, Scholastics. When the ship was near Challe she was met by fifteen paraos and one galley, manned by Muslims. She was attacked, but the Portuguese succeeded in sinking two paraos and were hoping to escape, when a spark fell on the powder magazine. The poop was set on fire and many soldiers fell. More than one hundred jumped into the sea, and swimming towards the paraos, tried to climb in. Many were butchered straightaway, others—as witnesses related afterwards—were offered safety if they renounced Christianity. Nobody knows how many stood steadfast. The Franciscan—refusing calmly to apostatize—gained there and then the crown of martyrdom. The fate of the candidate is not known. The four Jesuits, with a few others, lingered on the burning ship till they were driven by the fire into the sea. Father Lopez was rather stout, and could not swim. So, in order to reach the Muslim ship, which was near, he got hold of a plank, on which there was a boy, who survived, and later on related the circumstances of the martyrdom. The enemy, noticing the tonsure, knew that Fr. Lopez was a priest, and were hoping he would apostatize, for thus they could glory in the perversion of a priest. They helped him on board, and courteously asked him to renounce Christ. Upon his firm refusal, they threatened him with death, pointing a spear to his breast and flourishing a sword over his head. But nothing availing, for he protested that he was a Christian and gloried in dying for Christ, one of the chief Moors pierced him with a lance that in India was called *Brichi*. He was hit on the head with a cutlass, and while they were throwing him into the sea, they covered him with wounds. One of the two Scholastics—it is not known which—while climbing on board the Moor vessel, had his head smashed by a terrible blow, and the other was killed for refusing to deny the faith. (2)

6. ANTONIO DINIZ, S.J. (1568)

Fr. Organtino Gnecchi, S.J., in a letter to Fr. General St. Francis Borgia, thus describes what happened to Br. Anthony Diniz, as he heard it from the Brother himself after he had been ransomed. "To-day", he writes, "has arrived here Br. Anthony Diniz, who has been a prisoner of the Moors, and who has related to us the death of Fr. Lopez and of the others. He says of himself that, being in the sea, near the ship, holding on to a rope, the mast fell on him and almost killed him. The Moors then caught him, and with the others brought him on shore, where a great crowd had gathered. They all shouted, insulted them and asked for their death. Though they were not killed they had to suffer a great deal. Stripped naked, they were led to various villages and separated from one another. Br. Diniz was taken to Capocaldi (the modern Quilandi, 16 miles north of Calicut) with thirty Portuguese, and there remained naked suffering most miserably, chained with another. A Moor, who had seen him in Cochin, found out that he was a Religious. Though they treated him like a beast, they did not kill him, for they were hoping to get good money for his ransom. He says that they made him clean rice for their families, and since he did it well, old Moor women came to him saying, "Father clean this rice", and they spat him in the face, and they vied with each other who should insult him more. His master—a Mohamedan—used to send boys to catch toads, and with them they beat him in the face while he was eating or sleeping. Boys at times hid a knife near him while he was asleep, and then they came, pretending to know nothing about it, and, when they had discovered the knife, ran to the master, shouting "The Father wished to kill us". And they kicked him and beat him in many ways too long to describe. They did him only one act of mercy, they offered him a little rag with which he could cover himself. Within a few days he was sold twice. In the last place where he was, he found a boy, who, being very poor, had no hope to be ransomed by any one. So he had yielded to the Moors, and everything was ready for the feast of his circumcision. Br. Diniz spent the whole night exhorting him to persevere, and by the grace of God he succeeded, for when the Muslims came to take him to the mosque for the ceremony, he said that he was a Christian and that he was ready to die rather than deny Jesus Christ. The Mohamedans, after having tried in vain to pervert him, grew furious against our Brother and threatened to kill him. The Brother answered with great courage that he was ready to give his life for the faith. But Our Lord willed that they should get calm and that the boy should remain steadfast. I shall not omit to say that the Muslim priests tried their best to get some Portuguese, and especially our Brother, in order to offer them as a sacrifice to Mohamed, promising that the Moors would thus secure victory for ever. Finally, it pleased Our Lord to free him, for he was ransomed for 150 ducats. But the Moors, before giving him up, made him a tonsure with a red-hot iron. That is what the Brother has related to us."

Before Fr. Francis Lopez sailed from Cochin he had been present at two solemn Baptisms, like those which it was customary to hold in Goa. At the first, which took place on the 4th of August, 150 persons were baptized. That was the first solemn Baptism which was held in Cochin. At the second, on the 26th of September, 140 were baptized. The ship of the martyrs left Cochin on the 29th of October 1568; so the martyrdom must have occurred on the 2nd or on the 3rd of November. (3)

7. THE MARTYRS OF SALSETTE (1583)

It is certain that many Christians in South Kanara originally came from the Peninsula of Salsette near Goa. The Viceroy Don Constantino de Braganza, in 1560, sent the Jesuits to evangelize Salsette. Within 50 years the 67 villages of the peninsula accepted Christianity. The opposition, however, was at first very great; and five members of the Society were killed at Cuncolim, five miles from Margao, in July 1583.

Their leader was Rudolf Aquaviva, nephew to the General Aquaviva, and son of the Duke of Atria, in Italy. He had just returned from the famous mission to the Great Moghul, when he was sent to Salsette.

Alphonso Pachecho, the second martyr, was a Spanish Nobleman, who had done great work in Goa.

Peter Berno, the third, was from Ascona, on Lake Maggiore. He had studied in the German College in Rome. For three

years he had been working in Salsette, and he was often saying that only the Blood of the Martyrs could fecundate that barren land.

Antonio Francisco, the fourth, was a Portuguese, and had been fired with the desire for the missions by the story of the martyrdom of Bl. Ignatius de Azevedo and companions.

Finally, Br. Francisco Aranha—a Portuguese—was nephew to the first Archbishop of Goa, and had done much useful work in the mission as a builder.

The Fathers were attacked by Hindus, enraged at the destruction of their pagodas, when they had gone to Cuncolim to choose a site for a church. Blessed Rudolf, on being wounded in the legs, fell on his knees, and was killed. Francisco Aranha was wounded in the throat and the ribs, and was left dying on the ground. Peter Berno was hit on the head; they cut off his ears and blinded him. They pierced Alfonso Pachecho's breast with a lance and, while he was stretching out his arms in the form of a Cross, they finished him. Antonio Francisco had his head cut open; and then noticing that Francis Aranha was still breathing, they dragged him to an idol, and did him to death with arrows.

From this time onwards that barren land blossomed. Scarcely a pagan was left there, and even the instigators and executioners became fervent Christians.

The martyrs were beatified by Leo XIII, and their feast is celebrated on the 27th of July.[7]

8. Frs. Luigi Matteo Pelingotti and Joao Metella (1616) (Ceylon)

From the Annual Letter of 1616, and from a letter of Fr. Provincial G. Fernandez (10th December 1617), we gather the following details:—

A rising had taken place in Kandy and had spread far and wide.

Frs. Luigi Matteo Pelingotti (Italian) and John Metella (Portuguese), who were residing at Matcgoma, were

[7] *Cf.* F. Goldie, S.J., *The First Christian Mission to the Great Moghul.*

killed with a lance by the tyrant Nicopeti, on the 6th of December 1616.

Fr. Fernandez adds, "We deeply regret the loss of these two Fathers, who knew the language best of all. They were still young, strong and gifted. Such was their zeal for the Mission that they could not speak of anything else.

They had converted many people and built several churches. The General Commandant of the Island (D. Nuno, *alias* Pereira) and other Portuguese have felt their loss very much, and have deemed it an honour to get some relics.

The war went on for a long time; till finally we won the King of Kandy, who has acknowledged the suzerainty of His Majesty, has given permission to preach the Gospel in his kingdom and to build churches."

9. Imprisonment of Fr. Anthony da Coimbra Ord. Sancti Francisci (1625)

We read in Civezza, "Fr. Anthony da Coimbra succeeded in gaining the goodwill of the kinglet of Ariolo, a principality not far from Calcutta (Calicut is meant; the mistake is frequent in Civezza). Taken on the sea by the Moors in 1625 with his companion, Friar Francis, and both being wounded with a knife, the ship having gone back to its port, where the tyrant was residing, they remained prisoners. But the virtue of the Father so impressed the kinglet of Ariolo that, though he hated the Christians to death, yet he began to love the Father with lively affection. He willingly listened to him and admired his penitent and mortified life, and especially his poverty, for, having offered him wealth and comfort, the Father most constantly refused.[8] Meanwhile he desired him to stay at Court, nor did he do anything without his counsel and advice. In the end he agreed to enter into friendly relations with the Portuguese and accepted their protection. When holy obedience destined the Father elsewhere he showed himself inconsolable."[9]

[8] *Storia Delle Miss. Francescane,* Lib. VII, p. 180.

[9] Civezza refers to Da Soledade, *Historia,* Lib. V, par. III c. XII.

10. Victims in Bengal (1626)

We take the following from the Annual Letters of 1626–27:

The Bandel of Hoogli was visited by three awful calamities, war, plague and famine. A just punishment for its abominable crimes.

The new Mahomedan Governor, and many of his Officials, enemies of the Christian name, conspired against the Portuguese and did their best to persecute them in Hoogli. They imprisoned some merchants, who had just arrived with great wealth, and they deprived them of all their riches.

They captured a vessel, which was coming from China, massacred part of the passengers and reduced the rest to slavery.

The Portuguese of Hoogli obtained that Fr. Simon Figuereido, who knew the language well, should go to (Dacca) to see the Governor, and beg him for the liberation of the prisoners.

He travelled for two months and after incredible trials accomplished the object of his mission.

Then famine followed, caused by clouds of locusts.

Finally pestilence; a kind of contagious fever, which made innumerable victims. Four of our Fathers fell victims of charity, and only two remained. The Fathers who died were Gasper Ferreira, 40 years old (2nd November 1625); Benedict Rodriguez, 39 years old (November 1625); Andrew Gomez, Rector (December 1625); and Simon Serqueira, 28 years old (January 1626).

Besides these victims of charity, 14 Portuguese in Sattagan (Chittagong) were beheaded by the Moors, and happily ended their life for the Religion of Christ, and for the defence of the Faith.

In another persecution 13 Indians and 4 Portuguese preferred to die a painful death rather than give up the true faith.

The same Annual Letter informs us that on the 8th June, by night, the tomb of Fr. Pedro Gomez was opened in order to remove his remains to a place more convenient for the devotion of the people. The body had been covered with lime.

The vestments were intact, the body incorrupt, the flesh soft and fresh, giving out a sweet fragrance. The news

spread and all the people came to the College to see the body, which had been buried for three years. The visitor yielded to their requests, and notable Portuguese, carrying lighted torches, were admitted to see the miracle.

They fell on their knees, and kissed fragments of stone and mortar and carried them away as relics.

Many sick people recovered their health by touching them, or by carrying them in a little purse round their neck. The body was put back in a coffin all lined with silk.

11. Four Fathers Killed in Ceylon (1628–1630)

The Annual Letter of 1642 says that during the Kandy revolt, Fr. Simon de Leyva, who was a Chaplain to the Portuguese troops, was beheaded (15th September 1630). We cannot say that he was killed in *odium fidei*, yet, since a military Chaplain's work is eminently a work of charity, he dies a noble death and precious in the eyes of God, who dies while comforting the sick and preparing the wounded to appear before their Maker.

Two years before Fr. De Leyva, Fathers Bernardino da Siena (Pecci) and Matthew Fernandez were killed in the church of Pachapali (16th September 1622).

Before speaking of their death we shall relate the following episodes, which can be read in the Annual of 1611, about Fr. Pecci.

He was going from San Thome to Cochin together with Fr. Antonio de Abreu. On the 31st October the ship was sailing between Quilon and Cochin, when she was overtaken by a frightful storm. She was not alone but one of a fleet of five galleons and two small craft. They were carrying more than two million gold pieces. The whole fleet was destroyed, and the victims were 150 Portuguese and 300 Natives. They were not far from the coast, and the Nayars were watching them struggling in the waters, but far from helping them, they were pushing them back from the land into the raging sea. Fr. Bernardino could not swim. While his ship was sinking, he held on to a rope, then he came across a floating plank. He jumped on it, and praying to God, and invoking the help of St. (Blessed) Ignatius, he moved on.

Being near the shore, he cried in vain for help. Finally a strong wave carried him on to the sand. The first thing which met his eyes was the lifeless body of Father Antonio. The church of the Franciscans was not far. They took the body there and gave it honourable burial.

During the storm both Fr. Antonio and Fr. Bernardino had heard many confessions and given baptism to many. It is said that Padre Antonio alone baptized about 200. Only two soldiers—through their own fault—died without confessing. Fr. Antonio was a very faithful servant of God. He was 50 years old and had been 31 in the Society.

Fr. Pecci was destined by God to shed his blood in the cause of the missions in Ceylon.

Since I could not find anything about his death in the Annual Letters at my disposal, I shall follow CORDARA'S *History of the Society.*

The Society had been working single-handed in Jaffna for six years and the results were most consoling. There were sixteen churches, all built by the Jesuits. The number of neophytes—which was constantly increasing—was nearly 50,000 when unfortunately, the Governor of the Province, Francis de Oliveira, died. He had been a most brave and wise ruler. During the eight years of his rule there was peace in the Province, and no trouble from neighbouring Rajahs. For he governed with the greatest justice, and he was respected by all, both for the power of his arms and the goodness of his ways. He was helping the missionaries to the best of his ability. But no sooner was he dead than everything changed. The King of Kandy, who had ever been a thorn in the side of the Portuguese, invaded the Province of Jaffna with his army. Oliveira's successor, Lanciroto of Seixa, not being strong enough to resist in the open, withdrew to the well-fortified citadel. The Kandians, being unopposed in the open, spread terror and desolation everywhere. Two of Ours, Fr. Pecci and Fr. Fernandez, were taken and killed. They were happy to die for Christ, and happier still because their death was, in some sense, due to their obedience. For, since they were stationed near the frontier, at the approach of the enemy both had withdrawn to the interior. But then, having seen the letter of their Superior, Fr. Peter Paul Godinho, wherein they were told to remain at their post, for the frontier was well defended, they went back, and were killed.

At that time Fr. Froes was staying with Fr. Pecci. He was young and strong. When he heard the enemy approaching, under cover of the night he ran away. But Fr. Pecci, who was following him, could not jump over a hedge, was taken and done to death.

Fr. Pecci belonged to a noble family to Siena. He had been brought to India by Fr. Laerzio, and had worked in the South for many years. Of late, being desirous to suffer for Christ, he had asked the Superiors to assign to him a station more dangerous and more exposed to attack from the heathens. On leaving Fr. Christopher Coelho, with whom he was very friendly, he embraced him and told him how happy he was that within a short time he would reach the goal of his desires, namely, a martyr's death.

His intelligence was somewhat slow, and he had no inclination for languages; but by dint of perseverance he had mastered Tamil better than many others. When he died he was 49 years old.

Older in age than Fr. Pecci, but no whit inferior in virtue, was Fr. Matthew Fernandez, who was born in Cochin 64 years before. With sufficient doctrine he joined such wonderful tact that few came up to him in the art of drawing souls to Christ. He had worked for many a year among the Paravars. Then, having been sent to Jaffna, he had built there three churches and had converted about 5,000 persons. When the news spread of the death of these two men, it was believed that indeed *pro testamento Dei sua corpora tradiderunt.* The more so that the Kandians boasted that they were fighting not so much against the Portuguese as against their religion. That also explains their fury against missionaries and churches. Having for ten days spread desolation everywhere, believing that the Portuguese could not withstand them, trusting in their great numbers, they dared to pass near the fortress, loaded with booty. The Portuguese, being goaded to fury, made a rush against them, defeated them and compelled them to withdraw. But though they defeated them, and thus avenged their honour, they could not undo the havoc and destruction of churches and property. Many Cingalhese, seeing the triumph

of the Kandians, had followed them, betraying their former masters. The Fathers bewailed the defection of so many and saw that the harm was great indeed. Yet they set themselves with great zeal to build the churches again, and to call back to the fold the lost sheep.

During this time another Father lost his life in this manner. His name was Francis Barbosa, and he was working in the island of Cardiva, opposite to Jaffna. It happened that he caught two or three of his servants carrying on some shameful practices. He scolded them, and tried to correct them from their vice. But they got so furious at this that one night they assaulted him and crushed his head. The Governor came to know of it. The culprits were caught, tried and, notwithstanding the pleadings of Ours, were hanged.

12. Fr. Laerzio's Companions (1627)

We have related elsewhere Fr. Laerzio's shipwreck, which happened off the coast of Feroke in 1627.

Br. Vincent Carruba was hit in the face with a lance and drowned in the river. With him died also by drowning Fr. Francis Gonsalves, Socius to Fr. Laerzio.

13. A Sodalist's Death (1632?)

In the Annual Letter of 1633 we read of another victim of the Moors. A member of the Sodality of Our Lady in Cochin was travelling by sea. He fell into the hands of the Moors, who, first with caresses, then with threats tried to induce him to embrace Mohamedanism. But he resisted bravely and they finally cut off his head. Unfortunately the Annual does not give the name of the hero. It only remarks that the crown of martyrdom was perhaps the reward of his fervour and assiduity at the Sodality meetings, where he often received Holy Communion, and scourged himself.

14. Fr. Francis Donato, O.P. (1634)

We have seen how, during the time of Archbishop de Brito, S.J., the Dominicans entered the Serra. Frs. Manuel Populo and Francis Donato established themselves at Caturte, and built a church dedicated to St. Dominic. Their unedifying plottings with the Archdeacon have been related.

Fr. Donato was born in Florence of the noble family of the Donati. When quite young he joined the Dominicans. Showing a great aptitude for languages he was sent as a missionary to Armenia. But, apparently he got sick, and so returned to Rome, where it is said that he was cordially received by Pope Urban who loved him and used often to converse in Greek with him. A little later he was sent to the Island of Timor. But he stopped at Cochin and went to the Serra. In Caturte he used to teach Syriac and Hebrew to the Chamazes, and was held in great esteem. He was chosen as their Bishop by the Archdeacon's party and in 1634 he left for Rome to report to Pope Urban VIII on the state of the Diocese.[10] But when his ship reached the island of St. Mary, opposite Udipi, they were set upon by the Moors, who, having taken him, offered to spare his life if he became a Muslim. He indignantly refused the impious proposal, and, holding a Crucifix in his hand, began to preach to them in their own language. But they angrily stopped his words and killed him.[11] According to Fr. Lucas De Santa Maria, the Mahomedans offered him as a victim to the Crescent and sprinkled their sails with his blood. According to him, the martyrdom took place between Diu and Mascate. May God, in view of his heroic death, forgive him the mischief he did in the Serra.[12]

15. A Jesuit Killed by the Dutch (1639)

The Dutch appeared in India at the beginning of the seventeenth century. They were Protestant and hated the Portuguese both on account of their faith and of their commercial and political power. They were determined to supplant them in the East from India to Japan. In 1639 they attempted the blockade of Goa. It was during the siege that Fr. Moris Moureyra, a Portuguese Jesuit, met his death. Fr. E. De Guilhermy thus writes under the 30th September in his *Ménologe de la C.D.J.*[13] Fr. Moris de Moureyra had been made

[10] *Cfr.* Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, pp. 25–34.
[11] *Historia De San Domingos, Lisboa*, 1767, pp. 716–17.
[12] *Cf.* Mgr. Giuseppe Sebastiani, O.C.D., *Speditioni, etc.*, pp. 177–80, Mancini, Roma, 1666.
[13] *Poitiers*, 1867.

chaplain of the fleet only a few days previously. News was received that the heretics were threatening Salsette. Almost at the beginning of the first battle fire broke out on the ship on which he had embarked. To escape death by fire the soldiers and the sailors threw themselves into the sea. The greatest part, together with some priests and religious of various Orders, reached a Dutch vessel.

The Dutch were moved to pity and spared their lives. But, having been recognised as a Jesuit, Fr. Moureyra was insulted, struck with swords and so badly wounded that he died. "For"—as the executioners boasted—"death alone could prevent such people from opposing the New Gospel, and from propagating the errors of Rome everywhere in the East". Fr. Dugout, S.J., in *Nos Martyrs*,[14] says that Fr. Moureyra was born in Lisbon in 1597, entered the Society in 1617, and was killed and thrown into the sea near Goa on 30th September 1639.

16. Two Virgins of the Fishery Coast (1641 or 1643)

In 1641 the churches of the Coast endured a terrible persecution on the part of the heathen. Deprived of all they possessed, the inhabitants of three villages were reduced to slavery, and subjected to such cruelties that most of them died.

The Annual speaks of two virgins (names unknown) who preferred death to the loss of their virtue.

17. A Jesuit Scholastic at Quilon (1647)

From Quilon to Cape Comorin we are told that there were 6 Fathers, each one having 6, 7 or 8 churches under him. The number of Christians was 11,700, of whom 2,500 frequented the catechism, and 100 children the school. The work was difficult due to the malice of the heathen and the rebellious spirit of the Christians. In 1647 things went so far that, owing to a quarrel between the Christians and the Portuguese Captain, they killed with barbarous cruelty, a helpless Jesuit Scholastic, who, after having taught Latin at Jaffna, was going to Cochin for his Theology. The Portuguese

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of the Fort of Quilon were horrified. They complained to the Rajah of Travancore, who punished the criminals. The name of the Scholastic is uncertain. Probably he was Gasper Cardoso, 26 years old, who died at Coulam, the 3rd May 1647.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

1 *The Martyrologium S.J., a P.* Henrico Dogout confectum (Editio altera *Zi-ka-wei*, 7 Aug. 1914, pp. 2–3) gives the following details:

1568, 28th October: P. Lopez Franciscus ortus 1516 in Lusitania, ingressus anno 1546; lanceis confossus et in mare projectus ad oram Malabar India. Similarly

1568, 28th October: P. Carvalho Jacobus, *ortus* ... Almeirim ingressus ... lanceis confossus, etc.

1568, 28th October: Fr. Lobo Manuel, ortus 1536 in Evora; ingressus 1557, 27 Decembr; lanceis confossus, etc.

Fr. Dogout makes a mistake about Fr. Lopez's age. He probably mixes him up with another Fr. Lopez, of whom Fr. De Souza in his *Or. Con.*, pp. 21–23.

2 The carnage where Fr. Lopez and companions lost their lives, is mentioned also in the famous *Tohfut-ul-muja-Hideen* by Seikh-Zeen-un-deen (translated into English, London, 1833, pp. 159–60). "In the year 976 (A.D. 1568) another party of the same people and from the same port (Funan), sailed out in a fleet of 17 grabs (among this party being Kuttee-Pokur) and made capture off Shaleat of a large caracca, which had sailed from Cochin, having on board nearly a thousand Franks, many of them approved veterans, the vessel also being fully equipped in every respect, and containing much precious merchandize. But whilst they were engaging the caracca, she took fire and was burnt; not however before the Mahomedans had saved some of her largest guns. And there fell in this action more than one hundred of their fighting men and persons of rank, besides servants and inferiors; whilst those who escaped the sword perished in other ways, some being drowned and others falling victims of the flames."

3 The facts related in the text are taken from Fr. D. Bartoli, S.J., *L'Asia*, lib. VII, pt. I, pp. 68–73. De Souza (*Or. Cong.* pt. II, pp. 22–23) corroborates Bartoli's narrative. So does De Guilhermy (Ménol. De la C.D.J., Poitiers, 1867, Vol. II, p. 375).

De Guilhermy gives the following Bibliography:—

Lettere dall'India (1553–1557), p. 49. Du Jarric. *Histoire-Tome I*, p. 490; *Sacchinus- Hist. Soc.*, pt. III, p. 192.

Alegambe-Mart. III, p. 47.

Tanner-Soc. usq. ad. sang., p. 229; *Nadasi. Ann. dier., mem.*, pt. II, p. 249.

Drews-Fasti Soc., p. 421.
Patrignani-Menol., 29 Ott., p. 216.

FR. LOPEZ, S.J., was born in 1529 and joined the Society in 1548. He sailed for India in 1556. He was Rector at Quilon in 1564. His ministry was so blessed by God that many tears were shed during his sermons. He had such a wonderful gift of speaking about the things of God, that even those who did not care about their salvation listened to him with fruit. He was extremely kind, and indefatigable at the confessional. He was most exact in the observance of the Rules, even the most minute.

FR. JOHN CARVALHO is called "James" by Dugout. Bartoli, D'Souza and Guilhermy call him "John".

CHAPTER XVII

JESUIT CONTRIBUTIONS TO LETTERS AND DISCOVERIES

IN this chapter we shall describe the role which the Jesuits of the Malabar Province have played in the field of Letters and Discoveries up to the middle of the seventeenth century. Considering the importance which the *Puranna* of Fr. Thomas Stephens, S.J., has had in the spiritual formation of the Christians of Kanara, we could not be silent about it, though Fr. Stephens did no work in Malabar.

Next the author of the *Livro da Seita*. It is a shame that a non-Catholic should have discovered FR. FENICIO to the Catholics, and—what is even worse—to the Jesuits. They had entirely forgotten this great Missionary, this pioneer in the study of Hinduism.

Then Fr. De Nobili again, and his literary work.

There follows a note on the first printing presses in India. Balfour's *Cyclopædia of India*, states that the first printing presses were set up in Tranquebar, in 1710. The date is wrong by more than one century and a half. Barely ten years after the foundation of the Society, the Jesuits brought the first printing presses to India.

The fourth section is about Fr. Fenicio's discovery of Toda-land, and his expedition to the Kingdom of the Sun. Both the *Ragguaglio* and Prof. Charpentier call it so. But it was the present writer's good luck to identify it with the Kingdom of the Salt, of which Fr. Vincenzo, O.C., speaks in his *Viaggi*, and which he places near Cannanore. The mistake arose from reading "*Solis*" instead of "*Salis*" in the Annual Letters.

The last section describes FR. CACELLA'S daring journey to Bhutan, in order to discover Cathay.

SECTION I

THE FIRST ENGLISHMAN IN INDIA: FR. THOMAS STEPHENS, S.J. (1579–1619)

1. *Sketch of His Life.*—In an article entitled "Facts of Indian Progress," contributed by Sir Monier-Williams to the *Contemporary Review*, we find the following statement: "The

first Englishman known to have reached India *via* the Cape of Good Hope, was a man named Thomas Stephens (also called Stephen de Buston or Bubston). He belonged to the Diocese of Salisbury, and having given proof of ability, was sent as a student to Rome, where he became a Jesuit. It is stated that he was once a member of New College, Oxford, but no such name is on the books".

However that may be, we know that Thomas, after he had finished his scholastic career in England, attached himself to Thomas Pounde, who for a time was a Courtier of Queen Elizabeth. As the times were dangerous for Catholics, Pounde and Stephens, in order to avoid the suspicion of the Heretics, hit upon the plan of appearing in the role of master and servant. The plan worked well enough for a time. Meanwhile, they were reading the accounts of the first Indian Missionaries and both were fired with the desire of working for the conversion of the heathen in the ranks of the Society. They decided to sell what they had and proceed to Rome. But if the servant, Stephens, succeeded, the master, Pounde, was betrayed to the Queen's Officers and cast into prison, where he lingered for thirty years.

Stephens, some time after reaching Rome, was received into the Society on 20th October 1575. He begged the same favour for his master, who was received *in absentia* three years later. After the Noviciate, Stephens did some Philosophy and Theology and then obtained from Fr. General Mercurian to cross the seas to the Indies. He left Lisbon on 4th April 1579, and reached Goa on the 24th October of the same year. In the chapter on "the Land and the People", we have given some extracts from a letter which he wrote to his father, where he gives some idea of a sea voyage in those days, and where are recorded some of his first impressions of Portuguese India. Likewise in "Notes and Documents" we shall give some passages from a letter to his brother Richard, who had first fallen away, and then, having returned to the Church, became a Doctor of Theology in Paris.

Fr. Stephens was minister of the Professed House at Goa, then Rector of the Salsette College, then Socius to the Visitor, then finally worked for the rest of his life among the converts of Salsette.

In 1583 four English merchants, Ralph Fitch, John Newbury, Leeds and Storie had come out to India in quest of fortune. But at Ormuz they were imprisoned by the Portuguese. Fr. Stephens, having heard of their sad plight, succeeded in obtaining their freedom. Later on a French traveller, M. Pyrard de Laval, testifies to the generous assistance given him by Fr. Stephens when he was a prisoner in Goa in 1608. Fr. Stephens died in 1619, full of merits and years, after having worked for 40 years in India. It is not known where his remains were buried.

2. *His Works in the Lingoa Bramana Canarim.*—The Visitor, Fr. Alexander Valignani had insisted on the necessity of learning the native languages. In the South, Fr. Enriquez knew Tamil to perfection. Fr. Roz knew Malayalam and Syriac. In Salsette, in the year 1576, eight Scholastics were applied to the study of the "lingua Canarina", in order to be able to instruct the Christians and to convert the Gentiles. The Rector was very exact about it, and insisted that they should be free from other work, and that every day they should for some hours practise speaking with the natives. They had not only to acquire a working knowledge of the language, but they had also to learn how to write and read it in its own script. Fr. Stephens learned the "lingoa Canarina" to perfection. Three years after his death, in 1622, appeared his translation into the Lingoa Bramana Canarim of a Christian Doctrine in Portuguese by Fr. Marcos Jorge. He even wrote a grammar of the Canarim language which remained in manuscript for years, and, after having being perfected by Fr. Diogo Ribeiro, S.J., was issued from the Press of St. Ignatius' College, Rachol, in 1640. Only two copies of the first edition are known to exist, but a second edition was printed in 1857. But the *opus magnum*, which has immortalized Fr. Stephens is the *Christian Purannas*. (1) From the Censures and Licenses annexed, it seems to have originally been written in Portuguese and then translated into the vernacular. The translation, which was completed in 1614, appears to have been printed in 1616. A second edition completely revised appeared in 1649, and a third edition in 1654. Yet, of these printed editions not a copy remains; and the work, prized as a heirloom in some Catholic families, existed only in a few MSS. copies, till the year 1907.

Mr. J. A. Saldanha, B.A., LL.B., suggested that it should be printed. Mr. J. L. Saldanha undertook the work and wrote a very scholarly Introduction. The expenses were borne by the generous Mr. Simon Alvarez of Bolar, Mangalore. (2)

3. *The Puranna.*—The *Christian Puranna,* as we now find it, is divided into two parts. The first *Puranna* consists of 36 cantos and 4,181 stanzas. The second *Puranna* has 59 cantos with 6,781 stanzas or *slokas.* The central idea of the poem is the Incarnation of the Son of God and the Redemption of mankind. Starting from the creation of the invisible and of the visible world, and the creation of our first parents, the author proceeds to relate the first fall of man, the wayward career of mankind until the deluge, the preservation of Noah, the call of Abraham, the history of the chosen race in its struggle against idolatry. Then he speaks of the coming of our Lord, of His life, His ministry, His death, His resurrection and ascension.

The scope of the poem is the instruction of Christians and the conversion of non-Christians. For this purpose the author weaves together the various events of Sacred History round the central figure of our Lord. He shows how Divine Providence arranged all things for the establishment of the Kingdom of Christ. He deals with the mysteries of the life of God, and justifies His ways in the world. In fact, every point of Christian doctrine is explained in a masterly way, showing a full grasp of the Philosophy, both of the West and of the East.

The method followed by the poet is indicated by these lines:—

Since truths of faith to men conveyed
Must bear good fruit, I have essayed
To sing them with the fashioned aid
Of the Marathy speech.

As Jasmine rarest is 'mong flowers,
As musk o'er scents in fragrance towers,
E'en so, ornate Marathi's powers
Beyond all tongues can reach.

* * *

My soul, by Jesu's grace caressed,
To trace the sacred scripts was prest
Of Saints and Prophets and the blest
Evangelists' quartet.

With choicest blossoms culled therein,
Has this my chaplet woven been;
While in the string than runs between,
Marathy threads are met.

The metre employed by the poet is *Ovi,* which consists of four lines, the first three being rhymed together, and the fourth standing by itself. It seems a fact that the Indian mind is more attuned to poetry than prose, and poetry seems better calculated to make Indians understand the eternal truths. It is probably for this reason that Fr. Stephens chose to clothe with poetry the message of Christ to Hindusthan.

4. *Influence of the Puranna on the Konkani Catholics.*—We shall conclude this short Notice about the work of Father Stephens with the following quotations from Mr. J. L. Saldanha's scholarly Introduction to the *Christian Puranna*: "The *Christian Puranna* is said to have been held in great esteem especially by the middle and the lower classes of the Roman Catholics in the Konkan. In all likelihood it must have been read out to the faithful in churches in early times regularly on Sundays and days of devotion, when it is probable that intending converts also formed part of the audience. 'It was read until lately at a superstitious ceremony called *Soti, i.e., Shasti-Pujan,* a night watch kept on the sixth day after a child's birth, to guard it against the influence of evil spirits, which are supposed to be specially prone to attack it on that day.'[1] But the Catholics of Mangalore seem to have found in Fr. Stephen's precious book, a guide, philosopher and friend during times of the direst calamity. While no less than sixty thousand of them were being hurried away to a cruel and ignominious captivity in Seringapatam to please the whims of Tippoo, it was the recital of the *Puranna* that kept the band of exiles true to the Faith. How they must have consoled themselves with the

[1] See Dr. da Cunha's *The Konkani Language and Literature,* p. 31.

rehearsal of the pathetic strains that tell of the Saviour's sufferings and death on the Cross, and how sadly must their minds have turned homewards where, perhaps, the self-same strains were being sung by the family circle gathered for night prayers. Even in the days of the captivity when every hardship must have seemed all the harder for home-sickness, it was again the *Puranna* that brought them true solace and taught them loyalty to the Faith, which they retained in the midst of their loss of freedom and fortune. Nearer our own times, however, Dr. Buchanan, an English tourist, has recorded the pleasant effect noticed by him while passing through Catholic hamlets in Canara, of the happy combination of prayer and musical recitals from the *Puranna,* which were an unfailing item of the family gatherings. But at the present day such recitals have unfortunately ceased in Catholic households and seem to be confined only to out-of-the-way churches, where appropriate passages from the *Puranna* are chanted and explained for the benefit of the uneducated faithful during the Lenten season." (3)

SECTION II

The Author of the "Livro da Seita Dos Indios Orientais"

In the *Annua Do Sul* de 1603 Fr. Fenicio writes:—

"This winter (meaning probably the rainy season) I have occupied myself with studying the religion of the Malabars with a Hindu who has every day visited my house; and I have already written some two books of paper about the creation of the world, about their gods, and their children, three boys and a girl. Truly they are very fine fellows; one has the head and face and feet of an elephant, another has six faces and twelve hands, the third is an ape, and the lady is as black as coal and has eight faces and sixteen hands. I have written how many times one of their gods came down to earth, sometimes in the shape of fish, sometimes in that of a tortoise, or a bird, a boar, a man-lion, a woman, etc.; and I have written of the idols, the devils, the transmigration of the souls, the heavens, the earth, the oceans, the hells, the paradise, their ceremonies, omens, fasts, etc. And I am very pleased to know it, because it will serve me very well in refuting these Hindus."

This extract proves that Fr. Fenicio is the author of a manuscript on the religion of Malabar, which he had begun soon after his arrival in Calicut, though he may have finished it later.

Fr. Paulinus a S. Bartholomeo (1749–1806)[2] records in the following way the work of one of his fellow brethren of the Order of Carmelites, Fr. Ildephonsus a Praesentatione (*d.* 1789):—*Num. XXXI. Collectio omnium dogmatum et arcanorum ex puranis seu libris canonicis paganorum indianorum, seu tractatus de falsa secta paganorum Asiae majoris seu Indiae Orientalis, et praesertim de superstitionibus gentilium Malabarium.* The MS. cannot now be found, but the numerous quotations from it scattered throughout the works of Fr. Paulinus, reveal to us the main outlines of the *Collectio omnium dogmatum.* It may be noted here that the work had at least eight books.

In a review of some works of Prof. Caland[3], Prof. Zachariae has drawn attention to the fact that some passages from Ildephonsus quoted by Paulinus betray a great degree of similarity with certain passages in Baldaeus' *Afgoderye der Oost-Indische Heydenen.* Does then Ildephonsus depend on the work of Baldaeus, which was published already in 1672, more than a century before the death of Ildephonsus? Prof. Zachariae has proved that that is not the case. Moreover, he drew the attention to the fact that parts of the works of Baldaeus seem to coincide with passages in the well-known *Asia Portugueza* of Manuel Faria y Sousa (*d.* 1649), which was edited in Lisbon in 1666–1675. Now Baldaeus could not have made use of *Asia Portugueza,* for he collected his material in India, from where he returned in 1666. Then both Baldaeus and Faria must have availed themselves of the same source for their descriptions of South Indian Hinduism. And very likely that is also the source of Fr. Ildephonsus' work,

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[2] Cf. *Examen Historico Criticum Codicum Indicorum Bibliothecae Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide* (Rome, 1792).

[3] Printed in the *Gottingische Gelehrte Anzeigen,* 1916, pp. 561-615.

which, from a close inspection of the quotations in Fr. Paulinus, seems rather a translation than an original compilation.

Now Faria y Sousa tells us that he got his information about Hinduism from *el libro de los Malabares,* which was communicated to him by MANUEL SEVERIM DE FARIA (*d.* 1640), Canon of Evora. Baldaeus on the contrary, is very vague about his sources; he says that he possessed and made use of MSS. of Portuguese priests, and when he is actually incorporating about 100 pages into his work he gives "to his translation the tint of being only a vague reminiscence from some half-forgotten source".

But where did Manuel Severim de Faria get *el libro de los Malabares* from? He got it from the Jesuit, Fr. Manoel Barradas (1572–1646), who, before leaving India for Abyssinia in 1623, sent him a MS. on the gods and doctrines of the Hindus. In 1634 he sent again some notes for the use of it, adding that there was still left a book on the religions of the Hindus, which he would have sent if he had not lent the one single copy in his possession to another Father.

Now who was the author of Fr. Barradas' book? Both BARBOSA MACHADO, in his *Bibliotheca Lusitana,* and FR. BECCARI, S.J., in his *Rerum Aethyopicarum Scriptores Occidentales Inediti,* thought it was Barradas himself, though Barradas never claims authorship.

In 1921 PROF. JARL CHARPENTIER began research work on the Portuguese MSS. that are to be found in the British Museum. On p. 162 of the *Catalogue de la Figaniere* he found the following entry:—

"*Livro da seita dos Indios Orientaes. E Principalmente dos Malvares.* The MS. is in 4to and contains 339 leaves. It shows the characteristics of style and orthography common to Portuguese handwritings of the seventeenth century. It is in prose with 32 quotations from poetical works in Tamil. The first perfunctory perusal revealed the fact that this was the hitherto missing source common to FARIA Y SOUSA, and ILDEPHONSUS. It is in eight books: Book I deals with (1) The Creation of the World; (2) Refutation of Brahmin Cosmogony; (3) The Origin of the Gods BRAMHA, VISHNU and ISHVARA; (4) Shakti, the wife of Ishvara; the origin of Sun, Moon and Stars; (5) The Form and Position of the World; (6) The

Earth and the Oceans; (7) and (8) Outlines of European Cosmology; (9) The Elements and their ruling deities; (10) The subterraneous Worlds (*Patalas*); (11) The Ages of the World (*Yugas*).

Book II contains 24 chapters dealing with the God ISHVARA. Books III–VI deal with VISHNU and his *Avatars.* Book VII deals with Brahma and his son, the South-Indian Deity, AIYAPPAN. The VIII and last book first gives a description of temples and sacrifices (Chaps. 1–3), then of ceremonial ablutions (Chap. 4) of the sacred ashes (Chap. 5) and other means of purification (Chap. 6); then follows a description of the various feasts, *Ekadasi, Sivaratri,* etc. (Chaps. 7–11). The last two chapters deal briefly with marriage ceremonies and ordeals, such as the dipping of the fingers in burning oil, the swimming of a river infested by crocodiles and the fetching out a lemon from a basket full of cobras (especially in Canara).

PROF. CHARPENTIER remarks that the author nowhere mentions his name or position. "Still", he continues, "there could not be the slightest doubt that he was to be found among the members of the Society of Jesus, which has given since its foundation the most prominent missionaries and some of the foremost scholars to the world. It can be asserted with absolute certainty that at the time when this work was written no European except a Jesuit Father would have been able to compose a work like this; and every page of the manuscript bears witness that it was written in order to furnish its readers with an adequate knowledge of Hindu mythology as being the only means for refuting its doctrines, that it was intended to be a sort of guide book to missionaries, a work of the sort which seems to have been frequently used by the Jesuit Fathers."

On page 10 of the Charpentier edition of the *Livro* the author speaks of his conversations with the Brahmin astrologer of the Zamorin. In one passage (pp. 146–47) he suggests that the work—or at least part of it—was written in the year 1609. Now remembering what we have already related of Fr. Fenicio, it is plain that he is the author of the *Livro da Seita.*

However, the book was never published. In MS. form

it circulated among Jesuits, who at first knew the name of the author; but then they too forgot him. Purchas, in his *Pilgrimage* (1626) mentions the Father's disputations with the Brahmins. D. Nicholas Antonio (*d.* 1684), in his *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova,* says of him: "Jacobus Fenicius (an Didacus?) Lusitanus, auctore Cardoso, Jesuitarum sodalis, dicitur edidisse librum: *Dos deoses de Malabar,* hoc est de diis falsis incolarum Malabaris. Deest in *Bibliotheca Societatis.*" The nationality of Fenicio is forgotten; there is still a vague remembrance about his book. Probably Fenicio, having completed his work, sent copies to the Vice-Provincial in Cochin. In Cochin or in Goa Fr. Barradas became acquainted with it. He probably added some notices about Canara, and sent it to M. S. de Faria. Faria y Sousa made an abridgement of it for his *Asia Portugueza.*

Baldaeus was in Malabar in 1661–1664. When Cochin fell into the hands of the Dutch, we know that important Archives came into their possession. Then he must have come across Fr. Fenicio's MSS. He made generous use of it. In the new edition of Baldaeus's work by Dr. De Jong, pp. 3–82 are a verbal translation of the *Livro da Seita* (Books I–III); pages 185–200 are a fairly faithful translation of Book VIII, Chapters I–II; and there are some more passages which are due to Fr. Fenicio. Similarly Ildephonsus translated the book into Latin while he was in Malabar.

Prof. Jarl Charpentier, in his splendid Introduction to the *Livro da Seita,* gives a long list of passages taken by Baldaeus from Fenicio. Then he says:—"Add to this that Baldaeus, instead of telling his readers that he had simply translated great parts of a Portuguese MS. always expresses himself in very vague phrases as *e.g.,* "I think I have read it in a MS. of certain Roman Catholic priests." Add further that he knew next to nothing of Tamil and Malayalam, and that his knowledge of Portuguese was notoriously weak. Add finally that all the portions of his work, which he did not copy from Fenicio, he took over almost verbally from a Dutch MS. (Sloane 3290) without once troubling himself with even mentioning his source. By summing up all these instances it will be easily deduced that Baldaeus was neither an honest nor a trustworthy author, and that his work on the idolatry of Hindus is a simple compilation—one might rather call it plagiarism—which lacks every ounce of original value." (pp. lxxiv–lxxxv).

The same Professor thus concludes his scholarly article on the *Livro* in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*[4]: "The work of Fr. Fenicio has long been wholly buried, and even his name has fallen into almost total oblivion. He certainly does not seem to have deserved that fate. It seems to the present writer to be about time that we should try to obtain a somewhat fuller knowledge of the achievements of a great number of what we may call the pioneers of the present Indological Science. And amongst such pioneers Father Fenicio would certainly be entitled to a position of no inconspicuous rank."

SECTION III

Fr. Robert De Nobili's Literary Achievements

In a previous chapter we have spoken at some length of Fr. De Nobili's missionary activity, and we have endeavoured to give some idea of his original methods. Now we shall touch upon his literary achievements.

1. *Fr. De Nobili's Proficiency in Indian Languages.*—Archbishop Roz in a letter to Fr. Aquaviva (13th November 1613) writes: "I have conversed with Fr. Robert about the languages and manners of these people, and I was so much impressed by his knowledge, that I, who may, however, be said to know something of those languages, am ready to swear, every time I am asked to do it, that this Father cannot have acquired the knowledge he possesses through natural means, any more than he can, without the special help of God, lead the austere life he leads."

But Fr. De Nobili not only learnt the languages, he also mastered the Indian sciences, and especially Indian Philosophy. In the same letter we read: "He transformed himself into a Brahmin philosopher, learnt three very different and very difficult languages, investigated to their very depths the secrets of the sacred mysteries of the heathen and mastered them

[4] Vol. II, Part IV, 1923, pp. 753–754.

fully. He has attracted the hearts of haughty Brahmins in such a wise that, not only do they come to see him, and hear from his lips the Word of God with an incredible admiration, but go so far—a wonder which no one could have expected—as to kiss the ground he has trodden, and embrace the faith that he preaches. Acknowledging their errors, they openly declare: 'Never has a man spoken as he does, God confirming his testimony by prodigies and the gifts of the Holy Ghost!' "

Fr. Antony de Proenza, Superior of the Mission at the time of Fr. De Nobili's death (1656), thus writes in the Biographical Notice of "this model Missionary": "In the three languages in use in these countries, Tamil, Badaga (Telugu) and Grandam (Sanskrit), Fr. Robert was so eminent that he astounded the natives of the country; hardly any could be found among them that surpassed or even equalled him in the extent and depth of the knowledge he had of those languages. I may give the assurance that no one equalled Fr. Robert in elegance of speech, energy of diction and facility of elocution. He never spoke to a pagan, however learned he might be, on religious matters without convincing him. In the art of catechizing (which he never confided to another), learned men who heard him have compared him to St. Ambrose. In general, in all his instructions he appeared no less scholarly than practical."

He composed a number of books in the three languages he had learned. In Sanskrit he translated or composed himself various prayers and orations for the occasion of marriages or other ceremonies of the Brahmins (of which some are still extant, notably the prayers for the marriage ceremonies, which are recited by Catechists at the marriage of caste people).

2. *Fr. De Nobili's Works.*—Fr. Proenza continues:

"The other works he composed in that language (Sanskrit) were lost, when he was made a prisoner at Madura; in particular the Life of Our Lady in Sanskrit verses, the loss of which he very keenly felt. (4)

"In Tamil he composed the books from which we now draw the doctrine, which we preach for the conversion of souls. His principal and most important work in that language is his Catechism: *Gnana Obadesam* (*Spiritual Instruction*). Whoever will take the trouble to read it will easily judge that it is

the best that has ever been composed in the Church of God. Anyone who attends to the order and disposition of the work, the means used to persuade and convince the mind, the solidity and power of the arguments put forth in order to prove the mysteries of our holy religion, will easily conclude that Fr. Robert must have been enlightened by a special light from heaven, in order to be able to write this work.

"He composed another treatise entitled "Science of the Soul" (*Attume Mirunayam*). He entitled another "Refutation of the calumnies against the Law of God" (*Thoukkchana adikkaram*), a work that always singularly pleased me.

"If he refutes the calumnies which the pagans bring forward against the Law of God, at the same time he turns them against their very authors. This work ends with a short instruction for Missionaries on the manner of conducting themselves in the administration of their mission and the method of catechising infidels.

"The title given to another of his works is "Signs of the True Religion" (*Gnana Lakshanam*). Another of the kind entitled "Spiritual Light" (*Gnana Villakam*) was written to help its readers to discern truth from falsehood; still another, written in verse, and generally sung in the assemblies of Christians has for its title: "Apologia of the True Religion" (*Sattiaveda Nyaya Villakam*). He also wrote a work in the form of a dialogue on the transmigration of souls, an error common to all the pagans of the East, and another entitled "Dialogue on Faith" (*Visuvasa Sallabam*). He composed a treatise on "Eternal Life" (*Ananda Jiviam*) superior to all his other works in regard to style and perfection of language. This was his first work: and the mere reading of it has drawn a great number of men from the darkness of heathendom. He has also a dialogue on the same subject "*Nittiyajivia Sallabam*". He wrote a "Manual of Rules of Perfection", (*Sangopanga Murei Anusaram*), wherein is drawn from life the spirit of Fr. Robert. He produced many other works that are now lost, and translated or composed a great number of hymns and prayers, which are still sung or recited by all Christians. Lastly, there are a certain number of sermons which circulate under his name. (5)

"There is no mystery of our holy religion, which is not

found explained in Fr. Robert's books, so that a missionary need no other Theology but that which is contained in them. When Fr. Manuel Alvarez came to this Mission, he consulted the Holy Brother de Basto as to the best method to finish his study of Theology. Br. Pedro answered that he would find everything he needed in the books of Fr. Robert; and when that Brother spoke thus, there was no means of knowing what Fr. Robert would publish or had already published. A thing most wonderful in this manner of composing his works was that from the very outset he disposed all the matter so comprehensively that in one chapter he alludes to what he will write many chapters further on, or in one book he refers to what is to be written in such a part of another work which he had proposed to write, as though all those works were present to his mind, book, chapter and para: an unequivocal proof of his extraordinary memory.

"He translated into Badaga (Telugu) several of the works he had already written in Tamil, not only in order to be useful to the Badagas, but also with a view to afford a help to any of us who might learn that language.

"All those writings of Fr. Robert written on *Oleis* (palm leaves) make up some twenty volumes. But because they have not been written on paper, or printed, they are hidden and are in great danger of being lost, as in fact some have been lost already, and the same fate will befall the others also. They deserve, however, to be translated into all languages, and to be diffused throughout the whole world, but chiefly where heathendom reigns."

So far Fr. Proenza.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

[1] In an article on "The Discovery of the Original Text of the *Christian Purana* of Thomas Stephen", written by Justine Abbott in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution*, 1923, Vol. II, Part IV, we read that in the MSS. collected by William Marsden and given by him to King's College in 1835, but now in the possession of the School of Oriental Studies, there are: (1) The *Adi or First Puran*, a Christian work in the Mahratta language, divided into five parts, and containing 4,035 verses; (2) The *Deva Puran or Divine History*, a Christian work in the Mahratta language, and containing 6,686 verses. Both are in Nagari character. The *Deva Puran* is clearly a copy of an earlier copy, but roughly guessing the age of the MS., each of the volumes must be well over 200 years.

The Mangalore edition is printed from a MS. whose text is a translation in Roman character of this Devanagari text. The original author used in spelling and idiom the Konkani form of *Marathi* then current among Christians. He used Bautismu for *Dnyanasnan*, Trinidad for *Tritva*, Sacrament for *Devadravya*, Nava Testament for *Nava Granth*, etc.

Chapter XXII of the Mangalore Text of the *Dussarem Puranna* is an interpolation. Similarly verse 76 of Chapter XII is an interpolation.

Neither the Mangalore Text nor the Devanagari Text gives the name of the author. It is from a very early and constant tradition that we know that Thomas Stephen was the author. There is in the *Bibliotheca de Ajuda* at Lisbon, a catalogue entitled *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jesu*, dated 1676. This early catalogue credits Thomas Stephen with three works: (1) A Grammar of Canarese, (2) Christian Doctrine and (3) a work entitled *Puran*, which the Article praises as Thomas Stephens' *Magnum Opus*. It is certainly remarkable that a European should have written in such excellent Marathi, and the wonder increases before the greater excellence of the Devanagari text. Both the Christian Doctrine (*Doctrina Christiam em lingoa Bramana Canarim*) and the Grammar (*Arte de Lingoa Canarim*) are in Marathi. These MSS. came from Goa and it is quite possible that one or two of them may be in the handwriting of the author.

[2] *The Christian Puranna* of Fr. Stephens, S.J., was published in Mangalore under the title:

The Christian Puranna of FR. THOMAS STEPHENS, S.J., A Work of the seventeenth century, reproduced from MSS. copies and edited with a Bibliographical Note, an Introduction, an English Synopsis of Contents and a Vocabulary by Joseph L. Saldanha, B.A., St. Aloysius's College, Mangalore; published by Simon Alvares, Esquire, Codialbail Press, 1907.

Cf. The Mangalore Magazine, Vol. I, pp. 70–72, 166–68; Vol. II, pp. 142–44. Articles by Fr. D. Fernandez, S.J.

Cf. also an article by J. M. (Victor) Saldanha, B.A., in the same Vol. II, pp. 275–78, where the question of Fr. Stephens's language is discussed. *Cf.* again *Notes on the First Anglo-Indian and other subjects*, by J. A. Saldanha, B.A., LL.B., Codialbail Press, Mangalore, 1910.

[3] We add here a letter of Fr. Stephens to his brother which was written from Goa on the 24th October 1583. There he tells his brother how he had been sick, and then, owing to the scarcity of Priests, how he had been ordained and sent to the peninsula of Salsette. He describes it, he says how there were eight churches in it, and how the Christians were increasing. Some parts are

missing, where he describes the Martyrdom of Bl. Rudolph Aquaviva and Companions. We shall give here a long passage relating the constancy of a young convert: "The Father whom I succeeded in this residence left with me a Brahmin boy of an uncommon character, who had been baptized by him two years before. He had an elder brother who, too, was a Christian, but as far removed from him in Christian spirit and piety as he was close to him in relationship. Their mother as well as the rest of their relatives so obstinately persisted in infidelity that they strove both openly and covertly to pervert this boy. After he had spent some months with us, he became desirous of learning Latin, and with the permission of Fr. Provincial was about to leave for Goa, when the prospect of his departure so alarmed all his relatives and pagan acquaintances, but most of all his brother that they began to reason within themselves saying:—"If he masters the Latin language it is to be feared that relying upon the support of literature he will greatly injure us and our sect." To be short, they made a conspiracy. They invited the boy home as if to let him say farewell to his relatives; but when their entreaties had proved of no avail to bring him over, and the boat into which he had got was about to leave, the pagans led him off from it partly by force and partly by importunities, and handed him over to his brother that he might prevail upon him. But seeing that this way was a failure, they had recourse to other means. They allowed him to proceed, for when he saw that he had been shut out from the sea, he did not worry about the boat but thought he would be able to travel on foot. As he was making his way, his brother with two companions followed him. He asked him if he meant to leave his brother and the rest of his relations without bidding them farewell, and threatened him with violence in case he should proceed further. Then at last, compelled by necessity, the boy consented. At home he found his mother and some of his relations. Some of these together with his mother had up to this day been living as exiles in the neighbouring country, but had returned home allured by the hope of this prey. They received the young man with open arms. They set before him food that had been so villainously medicated as to make him lose instantly his reason and memory, with the result that he knew not where he was or what he was doing. We have here a fruit called *Duttro*, and if anyone tastes of it he is out of his mind for twenty-four hours ... With this juice they seasoned his food. ... Being out of his senses, he raved in a wonderful manner. ... While he was raging in this fashion, they laughed at him ... then they washed his head and the whole of his body with water, as is their custom, in order to bring him to himself. They then threw him into a prison. ... When he regained his senses and knew full well where he was, he first pitiably lamented his condition, but presently recommended himself and all his affairs to Almighty God. His mother, on the contrary, tempted him in all possible ways, trying to persuade him to give up the Christian faith. ... She promised him mountains of gold if he obeyed. ... Besides they brought him sacred ashes, which, when mixed with food, were believed to have the power to change one's mind. But he, having made the sign of the cross over his food, swallowed it boldly. When the infidels observed this, they strove to check his hands. When he had thus lain in chains for ten days or more, a certain apostate, a previous acquaintance of his, came to him. Bernard (for that is the name of our boy) said to him:—"Is it possible, my friend, that I am treated in this way on your property and grounds? Do I not know your relations from whom our Fathers every year buy cloth for those that are going to be baptized? How painful will it be to the Fathers to hear it reported that I am detained in chains in a place belonging to one to whose friends they are so kind." The apostate, pretending to be moved, called Bernard's mother and said to her:—"I praise your efforts, but beware of being deceived by too great a hurry. ... He fell away from us gradually, and gradually must he be recovered. For we too were Christians once upon a time. Gradually were we won over to the Christian religion and gradually did we leave it. ... So shall it be with this boy if you choose to have me for your adviser. First of all he must be set free; then we must gently draw him by many allurements. For if you do him violence, you will only make him more obstinate." At this ... he was delivered from prison and was put only under the care of a guardian. When a day or two had passed ... the boy, who had marked the time favourable for his escape, fled from the house ... and concealed himself in a thick plantation. He avoided going far lest he should be intercepted by his pursuers. They, on the contrary, thinking that he had fled to the territory of the Christians, scoured the more distant localities, heedless of the neighbourhood. At last, as the day was getting warm, they returned home worn out by the heat. The boy, who with his own eyes was watching their movements and with open ears was listening to their words, seized the opportunity and continued his flight through wooded hills and hidden valleys until he gained the bank, which from the opposite side faces the fortress of Salsette and our College. Here he found a boat by the disposition of Providence. Using a branch of a palm-tree for an oar, he crossed the river, and was received with joyous surprise by the Fathers who had been praying for him with the utmost solicitude.....

Now I will say a few words about what you have asked me. We have here a tree oftener seen than the elm or the vine, called palm on account of its likeness to it. .... it gives oil, liquor, toddy, syrup, sugar and vinegar. Coir-rope is also made from it to tie with, and its branches are used to protect huts from rain. It gives fruit all the year round, which

are rather nuts than dates, resembling a man's head. When the exterior rind has been removed, they equal the size of two fists. Inside, the fruit contains water-like light beer and good to quench one's thirst. It is so plentiful that, after drinking from one fruit, you would not look for another. In the interior of the nut is a kernel lining it all over like a covering and forming a prized article of food. The shell furnishes the blacksmith with charcoal. Those that live near the sea not only load their boats with the tree but also utilise it for making ropes and sails. You will find hardly any piece of writing except on its leaves. Those that live on land invariably make use of them to shelter themselves from rain.

Many are the languages of these places. Their pronunciation is not disagreeable, and their structure is allied to Greek and Latin. The phrases and constructions are of a wonderful kind. The letters in the syllables have their value, and are varied as many times as the consonants can be combined with the vowels and the mutes with the liquids.

The climate is not painful to us. The heat which was formerly said to render the earth uninhabitable, is so much tempered by refreshing winds that it is milder than in Italy or Spain. From the time the sun reaches the meridian to the time it returns to the same point through the zodiac, it is winter and not summer in all the territory from Goa to Comorin. But winter in this country is distinguished from summer only by rain, and not by cold, so that the verdure of the fields would make you think that it is summer, whereas the rain with the mild cold, that it is winter. For though the forests are scorched by the sun from October to May, still the leaves of the trees are green the whole year round. Thus far about these matters."

[4] Other Sanskrit writings of Fr. De Nobili's were the text of the first three Vedams, the only ones he knew, together with the received commentaries upon them and his course of Scholastic Philosophy, in view of the Brahmin Seminarists he hoped to attract. The latter plan, however, did not materialise—(Fr. J. Castets).

[5] Of these works, besides the Catechism, only *The Science of the Soul* has been printed. *Gnanalackshanam, Sattiavidaniyaya Vilakkam, Visuvasa Sallbam* and *Sangopanga Murei Anusaram* seem to be lost; the others still exist in manuscript, together with two others not mentioned in the notice.

His profound knowledge of Indian languages enabled him to discover and fix catholic terminology in both these languages. Fr. Beschi, in his Dictionary, takes care to make known the words introduced into Tamil by Fr. De Nobili and to give their meaning —(Fr. Castets).

A Note on the First Printing Presses in India

It is strange that none of the printed copies of Fr. Stephens' *Christian Puranna* should have come down to us. That is not because there were no printing presses in Goa, for we read in the *Oriente Conquistado*[5] that "the better to provide for the instruction of children, Xavier composed a Catechism which was printed in Goa in 1557". The Jesuits in fact seem to have brought to Goa two presses since 1550, but the first book that issued from them was St. Francis Xavier's Catechism. (1)

That appears to have been written in Portuguese, for the author of the *Oriente Conquistado* adds that they were still using a pamphlet written by Marcos Jorge and translated into the language of the place by Padre Thomas Estevao, a native of London, whose translation was current in all the churches of the same tongue.

In the second part of the same book (pp. 66–67) we read that the Visitor, Fr. Alessandro Valignano, after having settled the affairs of the North, and among other things, after having applied five Fathers in the Church of the Holy Trinity in Basseim to the study of vernacular, went South. There he obtained ample permission from the Archbishop Mar Abraham for the Fathers of the Society to reside among the Christians of St. Thomas and to exercise their ministry among them. Immediately after, with permission from the Raja of Cochin, who was much pleased for having received a letter from Pope Gregory XIII, they built a residence at Vaipicota, and a church dedicated to the true Cross. Fr. Bernardino Ferrario, probably Italian, and Fr. Pedro Luis, a Malabar priest, were the first Missionaries. Soon the task was undertaken of printing a Catechism in the Malabar tongue, and the Spanish Lay-Brother John Gonsalves made the types with which the book was printed. Then the author, as if forgetful of the Goa Catechism, adds: "This was the first printed book that India saw on her soil, and by its novelty it helped a little to gain the goodwill of the natives."

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[5] Vol. I, p. 18.

In a note supplied by Bishop Medlycott to G. Mackenzie we read:—

"In 1577 a Spanish Jesuit Lay-Brother, John Gonsalves, was the first to cast Malayalam-Tamil type in Cochin, with which a Catechism and rudiments of the Catholic Faith were published. At first the Malayalis had no letters of their own but used the old Tamil writing. (See the inscription on the grave of Bishop Roz.) In 1578 on the Fishery Coast, Fr. John de Faria, S.J., cast Tamil types and printed the *Flos Sanctorum* and for years after a number of other devotional books were there published. In 1679 Fr. Anthony de Provensa printed at St. Paul's College, Ambalacad, the first Portuguese-Tamil Dictionary, possessing this peculiarity that the Tamil section was engraved on wooden blocks, while the Portuguese was printed in movable type. The appearance is smudgy. I saw a copy with my late Secretary, Bishop Menacheri, at Trichur."

Bishop Proserpio, S.J., writes in the *New Review*, October 1935: "In compliance with the disciplinary decrees of the Synod of Diamper (1599) the Jesuits of Vaipicota were asked to co-operate in the reform of the Syrian liturgical books used in Malabar. We thus find them at this time in correspondence with Rome, whence they hoped to obtain Missals and other liturgical books of the Chaldean Church. But instead of the Missals that had been asked for, Pope Clement VIII sent them a press with Chaldean types. It was brought in 1602 by Fr. Albert Laertius, S.J., and set up at Vaipicota. The first book printed there was a literal translation of the Roman Ceremonial and of the Exorcisms and blessings contained in the Missal. The Syrian Missal and Breviary, as expurgated by Fr. Francis Roz, S.J., who had succeeded Mar Abraham as Archbishop of Malabar, was next taken in hand. These books were written in Syriac (or Chaldean), with notes and explanation in Malayalam printed in Syriac script—a manner of writing even now called 'Carson'. (2)

This shows how correct is the statement in Balfour's *Cyclopædia of India* where the history of the press in India is made to being about 1710, with the rise of the Protestant missionary activities in Tranquebar.

Long before that the Jesuits had established two printing presses in Goa (1550) with Roman types; another printing press at Vaipicota with Tamil-Malayalam types (1577), and then with Syro Chaldaic types (1602). There was a Tamil press at Tuticorin in 1578. And finally there was a press at Ambalacad in 1679.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

[1] St. Francis Xavier's Catechism may be the first "book" printed in India. However, from a letter of the Patriarch of Ethiopia, John Nunez, written from Goa to Fr. Luis Gonzales de Camara on the 6th of November 1556, we find that the Philosophers held a public Act, and the *Conclusiones*, "y tambien otras cosas" were printed by Br. John. This Brother's full name was John Bustamante, and he had come out with the Patriarch and others who were destined for Ethiopia. In 1560 Br. John printed in Portugues a treatise where Fr. Gonzalo Rodriguez, showed by means of the Councils and the Fathers, the Primacy of the Roman Church against the Abyssinian Schismatics. Towards the end of the sixteenth century the Fathers tried to get Ethiopian types from Rome, to be used in the lands of Preste Juan. They seem to have succeeded much later, for we read that when the Patriarch Alfonso Mendez was exiled by the Abyssinian Emperor, he came to Goa with Fr. Antonio Fernandez. The same Father wrote in Chaldean, with Ethiopian types, a book under the title *Magseph Assetat*, which was printed in the College of St. Paul in 1642.

Fr. Ceceilo Gomez Rodelez, S.J., in a booklet *Imprentas de Los Antiguos Jesuitas*, printed in Madrid in 1912, mentions several works printed in the College of St. Paul, Goa, "en lengua Concanica", like the *Diccionario de la lengua Concanica* by Fr. Diego Ribeiro (1658), etc. In the same year was printed "en lengua Bramana" the *Jardim de Pastores* by Padre Miguel de Almeida, S.J. In the Casa Profesa at Goa there was a Bracmana Marasta Press. Fr. Esteban de la Croix printed there the *Poema de la Pasion* in the same language (1634).

At Rachol there was a Polyglot Press. The works of Fr. Stephens, Fr. Cinnamo's Catechism, the Lives of the Saints, a Treatise of Apologetics, and his Canarese Grammar and Dictionary were printed there.

[2] In Beltrami (*op. cit.*, pp. 125–26) we find the following:

"It is possible that Clement VIII may have sent to Malabar a certain quantity of Syrian types. In Rome there were then three Presses which possessed them; *i.e.*, that of Dominico Basa, the famous Medicean Press and that of the Maronite Giacomo Luna. However, the types being round, they were useless in Malabar, for the Chaldeans always use the square types, and indicate the vowels with dots, and not like the Greek system.

It is impossible that they should have printed in Malabar "the Roman Ritual, some Missals and Breviaries" for no trace exists of these Syrian editions. The Roman Breviary has never been translated into Syriac. There was an incomplete translation of the Missal, but it remained MS. and is no more used. A Ritual was translated from the Latin—not the Roman Ritual but that of Braga—which, however, does not differ greatly from the Roman."

SECTION IV

PADRE FENICIO'S EXPEDITION TO TODALAND (1603) AND TO THE KINGDOM OF THE SALT (1610)

1. *Documents on Fr. Fenicio's Expedition* (1603).—On this interesting matter we have the following documents: (*a*) A short account of an earlier expedition made at the request of Bishop Roz, S.J. Vague rumours had reached him (1) that in the interior of Malabar, among some mountains, there dwelt a race of men descended from the ancient Christians of St. Thomas. "In order to discover and open the way to them he sent from our Seminary (of Vaipicota) a Cassanar and a Chamas, which means a Priest and a Deacon, who after travelling for more than fifty miles reached the summit of the mountain of Todamala. Here they came upon a race which appeared, in accordance with the rumour, to be of those who were driven from the territory of St. Thomas by the many wars in former times and scattered through these parts. ... The Cassanar took occasion to ingratiate himself with them saying that those who had settled lower down were his ancestors and therefore were all of one race, and they had come solely to visit them as their brethren and relations. This moved them to such love and pity that men, women and children embraced and welcomed them with tears. They found no traces of Christianity in them. ... They have no pagoda worship nor pagan ceremonies. ... Therefore the Lord Bishop asked our Vice-Provincial to send one of our Fathers (to explore the land and get more information about these people) and the choice fell upon Father Yacomo Fenicio. ... The Father set out from Calicut, where he resides, and whence the road is easiest, and with the assistance of good guides reached the desired destination, though at the cost of great labour and

risk. Having acquired ample information he returned to Calicut from Todamala, and on his arrival wrote a letter to the Vice-Provincial, dated the 1st of April 1603."

(*b*) The second document we possess is Fr. Fenicio's letter in Portuguese, which has appeared done into English in the book on the Todas by W. H. R. Rivers. (2)

(*c*) The third document is an abridgement of Fr. Fenicio's letter in Latin, which forms part of the *Annuae* of 1604. We shall translate it here:

2. *Fr. Fenicio is chosen to visit the Todas.*—"The Todas are a miserable and wild people, who live on the mountains some thirty leagues inland, from the Calicut shore. The Bishop of Angamale had heard that once upon a time they were Thomas Christians, but had degenerated, yet they could easily be brought back to the Christian Law, only that Missionaries were lacking. Then, moved by his great zeal for the propagation of the faith, at different times he had sent there a Priest and a Deacon, Indian Christians of St. Thomas. But they, overcome by the tremendous difficulties, had come back without having seen the Todas.

"Hence the Bishop, most desirous of rescuing the lost sheep, instantly asked of me (*i.e.*, the Vice-Provincial) to choose one of Ours for this purpose. I destined to the mission Fr. Giacomo Fenicio, who was then in Calicut, a man fully conversant with Malayalam and ready for any hard labour. About the expedition he wrote to me as follows:

"Finally I have come back from Todamala, tired out, and nearly without fruit. Since the prosecution of the mission depends on my expedition, I shall write here what happened, what I discovered. I began the journey on foot in the month of March, accompanied by the Erari, the Christian cousin of the Zamorin, six pagan soldiers, the interpreter and four Christian servants. The journey till Manaracatem which is a village, twelve Malabar leagues distant from Todamala (3) though difficult, is bearable. But from here to Todamala, going through forests, torrents, precipitous rocks, infested with elephants, tigers and other wild beasts, the cold being very bitter, the journey was so awful that my companions, despairing of reaching the goal, thought of going back. I was already dismissing them ready to continue alone with my servants,

when, moved either by shame or pity, they overcame their fear and said they were ready, if necessary, even to die with me. And so, climbing these mountains, sometimes on all fours, we reached Meleuntanum. (4) This is a Badaga village. and the Priest and the Deacon, sent earlier by the Bishop, had come till here. Next day the people came round, and I showed them the picture of Our Lady and the Book of the Gospels. I explained to them the chief commandments. They listened eagerly, and affirmed the law to be excellent, though they doubted whether they would be able to keep it."

3. *The interview with the High Priest.*—"While I was here by chance there arrived the High Priest of the Todas, with seven or eight companions. He did not enter the village, not to be polluted by the touch of woman. He was a tall man, with a long beard, the hair like the Nazarenes, covered with a rough piece of cloth from the loins to the knee, the rest naked, with a scythe in his hand. He sat on the ground. Then I approached him; we saluted each other and sat down; then he asked me how I was. "Quite well"—I answered—"and I see that this my journey was providential, for having come from so far, I chance to meet the chief High Priest of the Todas." Then he asked the reason why I had undertaken such a long and difficult journey. I answered that I had heard that the Todas kept the same Law which we keep; and I wanted to know whether it was really so. When asked about the origin of the Todas, he said he did not know, and was about to leave. I begged of him not to be in a hurry, for it was not proper to leave me so soon after I had gone so far to see him. He stopped, and upon my inquiring who he was and what his job, he told me his name was Pallem and he was wizard. "And what God do you worship?" I asked: "The she-buffalo, who wears the bell round her neck"—he replied. Every day they offer her milk before she goes out to graze; and nearly every month Pallem getting hold of her, begins to tremble, and tells the people to what pastures they should move on; and so every month they change. Pallem lives on the milk and butter of this she-buffalo and of her daughters, who are about 120 (?..). On this mountain there are 100 Todas, who have three Pallem among them. Each adopts his own she-buffalo or goddess, and when she dies, the Todas gather

together, choose another, tie the bell round her neck so that she may be acknowledged and worshipped as goddess. I asked why he was carrying a scythe, and he told me it was God's command that he should not carry other arms. I inquired whether he had a wife, and he said he had one in common with his younger brother, but he was not allowed to touch her at home, where she was always staying with the brother; but on some feast days he called her to a forest, where he also called other women, with the permission of their husbands. The Todas have no letters or books. They relate that once there lived a saintly man, whom the she-buffaloes saw when he was taken on high by God and that is why they worship the she-buffalo as a Divinity who has had pity on the follies of man. I thought I had better stop my inquiries; so I showed the Pallem and his followers the Bible, and having given them a mirror, I dismissed them."

4. *Description of the Todas.*—"The next day we started to visit the place of the Todas. We climbed up a high mountain, from which we could see the land. It is lonely, barren, no trees, only rocks. There was a great number of buffaloes, and a few shepherds; no women were to be seen. I promised a mirror to a Toda if he could show me some Toda women. He brought four, who, being very shy, avoided the sight of men. I gave them a mirror and sent them away. Then I went everywhere. At the foot of a mountain I found two Toda houses, barrel shaped, covered with straw. They were as long as they were broad, about the length of a man. Should he stretch out his hands, he would touch the opposite walls; and if he lies down he would touch one wall with his head and the other with his feet. He cannot stand, but only kneel in them. The door is so narrow that even a thin man can scarcely get in. Inside three together sleep on grass mattresses. The kitchen too is inside. There are windows, about a palm's breadth, and the height of a finger. The poor, who are many, just cover themselves in front with a cloth four or five fingers broad. The rich have a bigger cloth. The Todas wear no arms. They have sticks, which they smear with butter. They themselves are covered with butter, and in the heat of the sun they become dark and they smell horribly. They do not know the barber, nor do they shave except at death. At that

time, if the dead man possessed some she-buffaloes, they divide them into equal parts; one part is killed, the other is distributed among the heirs. If he had none, his relatives are bound to bring him some, part of which are slaughtered and part given to the heirs, as if they had been his. The corpses, covered with a silk cloth, are cremated; if there is no cloth, they must wait, even for one year. To avoid putrefaction they open them at the back, they take out the intestines, cut the head, and dry them in smoke. Several brothers have only one wife, who at night obeys the elders, the younger, during the day. Others have prostitutes. They like hunting; domestic animals, whether fowls or others, they do not touch; they do not use salt or cereals, except rice. In fact, they eat only rice covered with milk and butter; they have no utensils; the hand serves for plate and spoon and everything. You would call them cynics. The men attend to cooking and pasture; the women clean the rice but cannot cook. In other things they do not differ much from other Indians. When they heard about me, many came, whom I asked why they lacked books, teachers and law. I said that I was of the same people myself. I asked whether they would like me to stay with them. They answered yes. I inquired whether they would do whatever I would command according to the law and God's will; and they promised they would. I added whether they would give up buffalo worship. They replied that they feared lest the buffaloes, offended, should harm them. I promised I would avert all such evils from them, and take them on my head. Upon this condition they agreed. I inquired whether in future they would, against the law, have many wives, or whether one woman would be wife to one man, and they said no. I asked whether it seemed proper to them to allow the Pallem to use their wives. An old man answered: "If it is God's will, we must obey." Then I gave a mirror to each one. A white man among them is a miracle. They asked me to bare my arms to see if perhaps they were black. I asked of them to allow two boys to come with me; but they refused. Finally, having promised to return, I left them; nor did I think I should remain, though I had leave from you; for they are very few men, or rather wild beasts, living on high mountains, scattered about to a distance of some 15 Malabar leagues. (5)

They are extremely poor; every month they change place; hence they cannot be cultivated or taught the Christian religion, except with the greatest difficulty. I do not see how any European could, I do not say, suffer such great fatigues, but even live for any length of time there; and so by a shorter and easier route I returned safe and sound to Calicut with all my companions, 25 days after I had left." All this about the expedition to Todaland.

Expedition to the Kingdom of the Salt (6)

This was undertaken by Fr. Fenicio on behalf of the Viceroy. We are informed that this kingdom was not so distant from the Zamorin's; but owing to some enemies of the Portuguese, the Father had to follow a circuitous route, climb the Ghauts—which, he says, are perhaps, not much lower than the Alps—in order to reach there. He was received very well and everything succeeded beautifully. In that part of the kingdom which was along the coast the Portuguese were allowed to build a fortress, whence they could fight the pirates, that plague of the Indian Sea. Nay, had the Viceroy accepted, that King was willing to join his to the Portuguese troops, and thus destroy the common enemy. The king made to Fr. Fenicio the gift of an elephant and he returned with it, which was not a trifling honour.

The Kingdom of the Sun is described as being very rich in vegetables, butter, honey, rice and other things. It is the home of pepper, ginger and cardamom. Though that King is one of the most powerful in Malabar: (for he can muster up to 50,000 soldiers), yet he does not bear the name of King, but acts as if he were the Viceroy of Perimal. Perimal is one of the chief three gods who are worshipped by these peoples of the East. Every day towards evening the King enters one of the rooms of his palace to adore Perimal, speaks to him as if he were present, tells him what he has done and what he has settled to do, for Perimal is the defender of the Kingdom, who will lead him to victory. It is said that in ancient times Perimal used to answer. The author of the *Annua* (1611) remarks: "Perhaps that happened before the advent of Christ, when the demons used to pronounce their oracles."

"That Kingdom was for many years ruled by women, so that even now it is called the Kingdom of the Queen of the Sun. The reason is as follows: One of the old kings ordered a man to be killed in the sanctuary of Perimal or of some other demon—a terrible crime indeed. The god through his priests ordered the King to make a statue of himself, having a spit driven through it, which, among these peoples is a most degrading kind of penalty. The King refused, but he died without male issue. Before dying he asked the woman who was to succeed him to promise him never to allow the statue to be built and the spit driven through it. And so for many years all the male infants that were born in the royal family died in their childhood. If an outsider was adopted, the same happened to him. A queen, not minding the dead king's request, finally got a statue ready and placed it at the door of sanctuary where it is seen even to-day. From that time onwards the male heirs did not die, of whom the present one is the eighth.

"Near the sanctuary there is a well in which there is a great treasure of various vessels of silver and gold and also of money. Whatever is thrown there is never afterwards put to profane uses. Every year, towards the end of May, for seven days, a great feast is celebrated, where enormous crowds flock. At other times no one is allowed to enter the temple, which is built on a mountain top; should he try to do so, he will be prevented by a shower of stones caused by the devil. But during the feast all can see the stone placed there and worship it. The vessels are taken out of the well and distributed to all who desire to worship with them; and no one is so fool-hardy as to steal them; for it is the devil's business to guard them. It is a religious duty for the King to visit the whole kingdom at fixed times; and then human sacrifices are offered to the god, who is supposed to delight in them."

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

• 1 These rumours had reached the Council of Diamper. In fact A. Gouvea, in his *Histoire Orientale,* writes: "It was heard at the Synod of another great people of Christians of St. Thomas, who lived at the extreme limits of the Kingdom of

the Zamorin, called Todamalla, who, at that time when the Christians ran away from Mylipur, went there, and accustomed themselves to live among those rocks, without having communication with the other churches, till the present day. For those places are isolated, away from roads, and well inside the land, a good fifty leagues from the churches of the Serra. According as it had been decreed by the Synod, two Cassanars went to see what was happening among those peoples. When they reached there, they heard that they were Christians, but had no knowledge of Our Lord nor of the faith. They only said that they were Christians, and that in their language (which is from old very different from Malayalam), their God is called Bidi, which means Fatum or Destiny. This God (they say) has three persons; one is an old man, the second young and the third a bird. We—they say—adore this God; and our law has been taught us by a holy man called St. Thomas. For the rest their ancestors had come from Mylipur, because the King who was reigning there was persecuting the Christians. Having come to these mountains, they had found shelter there. They had heard from their ancestors that towards Cochin there were people of their lineage and descent, but being far, and having heard, moreover, that they were cruel and ate men, they never had inquired about them. At the beginning they had books and officiating cassanars, but they all died, the books were lost, and of all the knowledge which remained of their God, it was a picture representing three persons, one an old man, the other young and the third a bird. But in course of time this knowledge also was lost; still in memory and adoration they always represented it as present. The Cassanars asked them as to what they understood by this old man and young man and bird. They could not say anything else except that that was their God Bidi, who was doing everything. The Cassanars then said that they had been sent by the other Christians, who live near Cochin, that they are their brethren and of the same descent, that they were not barbarians, and they did not eat men, that they are noble men and well favoured in Malabar, that they are everywhere and have churches in the kingdom of the Zamorin. This news was very agreeable to the Todamallas, and they gathered all the people, men and women, and they made a great feast, saying that they were brethren, and they rejoiced that a way was opening for communication and traffic. Then the Cassanars explained to them the faith and the mystery of the Trinity, which they adored without knowing what it was. . . . The people heard these things most willingly and they all answered that Priests should be sent to them with order to build churches, that they would all be baptized and be united with the other Christians. And this is what the Bishop Don Francis Roz is hearing, and by the reduction of these Christians we must hope for a great increase of the Bishopric of the Serra, with many other peoples which are discovered in this manner

every day, in the interior of Malabar. Before His Lordship went to the Serra they were kept buried by the carelessness of the Christians and by the ignorance of the things appertaining to the faith and to Christianity, for they did not care to know anything about it, nor how they were living, nor how to instruct them in the faith" (pp. 642–46).

[2] This is taken from *The Todas* by W. H. R. RIVERS (London, Macmillan, 1906, Appendix I). The extracts are from Portuguese MSS. in the British Museum (MS. 9853, pp. 464–65, *Anua do Sul* de (I) 602, Vols. 25–26). The translation is due to Miss A. De Alberti. The original Portuguese letter has been published by JARL CHARPENTIER in *Livro da Seita*, Appendix I, pp. lxxxvi–xcv.

[3] In the Portuguese letter it is said that *Manaracatem* is thirteen leagues from the shore of Tanur; or rather thirteen is found in the English translation; the Portuguese text has three (tres).

[4] We add here a few more details on this remarkable expedition, translated from Fr. Fenicio's Portuguese account as it appears in the *Livro da Seita*. He says:—"The second day we supped at the foot of a very high mountain over which our road lay, and as there was no village and there were elephants about, after supper we climbed part of the mountain and slept there. After midnight we climbed nearly all the rest of the mountain by moonlight, with great labour and fatigue. On reaching the summit other great mountains appeared, and others beyond them, at which we were all astounded, for some of them were so steep that we were obliged to slide down on our seats. When the Erari found himself on these mountains he said that God was punishing him for his sins and that going up and down such mountains would shorten their lives by ten years. The chety, our guide, looking down from a mountain said that merely looking down dazzled his eyes, and so said the Naires. But I could not restrain my laughter, and began singing songs in Malabar against pagodas, whereupon the others laughed and joined in the songs."

[5] In the Portuguese text we find that six Canara leagues are equivalent to twelve Malabar leagues (p. ixxxvii). In the English translation of MS. 9853, p. 479, MS. Vol. 40, Todaland is said to be in the interior of this country of Malabar, among rugged mountains, at a distance of fifty leagues or thereabouts. Is it fifty leagues from Calicut or from Cranganore?

[6] From the text it is uncertain whether it is "Solis" or "Salis". "Solis is the interpretation given in the *Raguagli d'alcune missioni fatti dalli padri della compagnia di giesu nell' Indie orientali cioe nella provincia di Goa e Coccinno e nell'Africa in Capo Verde*. Roma 1615." But Fra Vincenzo, in his *Viaggio*, mentions among other Kingdoms of Malabar "quello del sale, cosi detto per essere situato tutto fra le lagune, dove si fabbrica" (p. 224). Therefore we believe the right reading is "*Salis*".

SECTION V

TO THE DISCOVERY OF CATHAY

1. THE TIBETAN MISSION ORGANISED FROM GOA (1581–1652)

Br. de Goes, Fr. Andrade, Fr. de Azevedo, Fr. Coresma and Fr. Malpica.—The question of a Jesuit expedition to Tibet was first mooted by the missionaries at the Court of the Great Mogul in 1581. They desired to fix the position of the mysterious Cathay, and eventually to rediscover a lost Christianity, of which there were vague rumours abroad.

The mission was first entrusted to the Lay-Brother BENTO DE GOES, who, garbed as an oriental, and fortified by money and letters given to him by Akbar, went from Lahore to Kabul. From there he succeeded in reaching Su-chen, where, after many privations, he died on April 11, 1607. "Seeking Cathay", as one of his Brethren put it, "he found Heaven".

The next expedition was undertaken by Fr. Antony de Andrade, who, on March 30, 1624, left Agra with a Lay-Brother, Manuel Marques, to follow Jehangir to Kashmir.

On reaching Delhi, he met a band of Hindu pilgrims to Badrinath in the Himalayas, and decided to follow them. After incredible hardships he reached Tsaparang in the valley of the Upper Sutlej. At the beginning of November of the same year (1624) he was back again at Agra, from where he wrote a report to his Provincial at Goa.

The report was published two years later at Lisbon under the title *Novo Descobrimento do Gram Cathayo, ou Reinos de Tibet.*

Next year (1625) a new expedition was prepared and Fr. Andrade left Agra on June 17, accompanied by his old companion Br. Marques, and Fr. Gonzales de Souza.

They reached Tsaparang on August 28, 1625, and from this date a mission was maintained at Tsaparang, which was not finally closed till twenty-five years later.

Fr. Andrade returned to Goa, where he became Provincial, and wherefrom he organized a third mission, under the leadership of Fr. Azevedo, who reached Tsaparang on August 25, 1631. They found the situation there most unsatisfactory, the

Christians few and scattered, the princes suspicious, the supplies precarious.

But this report, far from discouraging the Provincial, moved him to arrange another expedition to Tibet.

But death overtook him in 1634, and another man, Fr. Nuno Coresma, was detailed to lead it. He reached Tsaparang in 1635, and soon realised the hopelessness of the situation.

At the end of 1635 Fr. Coresma submitted his recommendation that the mission should be closed. The Provincial then decided that Tsaparang be closed, but Srinagar and Garhwal be retained as an advanced base from which a renewed attack could be made on Tibet, if circumstances improved. The General of the Society superseded the orders of the Provincial, and required that new attempts should be made on Tsaparang.

Frs. Pereira and Dos Anjos were sent to Srinagar in 1636, and upon the death of one of them—his place was taken by Fr. Malpica. In 1640 three more Fathers arrived from Goa. They found Andrade's church still standing; but all the other buildings were destroyed, and both rulers and people were most hostile.

In 1649 Fr. Maracci, S.J., reported to Propaganda that no missionary was permanently kept in Tibet, owing to the cold but that one was occasionally sent there. In 1652 Fr. Botelho reported that in seven years Malpica had secured five converts only, of whom one had already reverted to Hinduism. Malpica returned to Agra in 1656, and the mission seems to have come to an end not long after.

In 1912 Mr. Gerard Mackworth Young visited Tsaparang. He found traces of a large town, of a fort, of the King's palace. But of the mission itself, absolutely nothing—nothing to show where the Fathers once lived and where their church once stood.

One thing indeed he saw—a large pyramid of stone, and on its summit, lying horizontally a weather-beaten cross of wood—the only relic of the mission, a symbol of hope, faith and sacrifice.[6]

[6] E. McLagen, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, London, 1932, Ch. XIX.

2. The Tibetan Mission Organised from Malabar (1626–1632)

Fr. S. Cacella, Fr. John Cabral and Br. B. Fontebona.—While Fr. Andrade was establishing the mission in Western Tibet, efforts were made to support his enterprise in the South. Cordara asserts that Fr. General Mutius Vitelleschi was urging Fr. Albert Laerzio, Provincial of Malabar, to organise a mission to Central Asia, and especially to the Cathay *notissimam majoris Scythiae plagam, sed adhuc notione et fama quam re notiorem.*

Fr. Laerzio was not anxious to embark upon an expedition so doubtful. The Province could afford neither men nor money. But the Annual Letter of 1615 already speaks of the mission, and Fr. Stephen Cacella, who had just arrived from Portugal, was begging in vain to be sent there. He was sent instead to teach Theology in Cochin (1612–1620), and in 1623 was made Rector of the College of San Thome.

Now some merchants from the North reached Cochin. They spoke of a vast region, beyond the frontiers of the Mogul Empire, touching Tibet, and though they did not know its name, they were sure it was the Cathay. The inhabitants there were meek, hospitable, kind. Their religion similar to Christianity. Fr. Provincial thought that the time, perhaps, had come to fulfil Fr. General's orders, and to organize a mission for the discovery of Cathay, and for the spreading of the Gospel. It was not strange that Fr. General should turn to the South for this purpose, because Bengal was under the Province of Malabar; and what Goa was attempting on the North-West, Malabar should attempt from the East.

On the 15th of May 1626, three Jesuits left for Cochin, accompanied by the prayers of all their brethren. A voyage more favourable than usual brought them to Bengal. After some delay they went to the port of Coecho (Kutch ?) and on August 1, they started for Cathay. The writer of the Annual Letter of 1626 thinks Kutch to be a seaport.

That of 1627 is more accurate. He tells us that they were received by the Rector of Hugli with the greatest charity. Nothing was omitted to facilitate the expedition to Cathay. A Muslim affirmed that in the vast regions beyond Kutch, the

people had the same customs and adored the same God as the Franguis. Others said that they were mortal enemies of the Mahommedans.

A Portuguese, who had been in Kutch, related that they adored the Holy Cross. One may imagine the effect of these news on the travellers. Fr. Cacella—who had also been made Visitor of Bengal—exposed the Blessed Sacrament, in a well-adorned chapel, and addressed a great crowd of Portuguese, who had confessed and communicated.

The Fathers, in Portuguese garb, left Hugli, and went up the river by boat. After eight days they reached *Lutivel.* There the Portuguese told them that the Governor of Dacca had been acquainted of their expedition. Therefore, while Fr. Cabral and Br. Fontebona remained at Lutivel, Fathers Cacella and Simon de Figueredo went to Dacca.

There, after being taken for spies, they succeeded in approaching a certain George de Souza, "the most experienced soldier among the Portuguese," through whom they obtained their safe-conducts from the Nabab.

The Fathers were overwhelmed with joy which, however, was tempered by the awful licence in which the Christians of Dacca were living. Still the punishments of Divine Justice were not wanting.

For instance, a Portuguese who had shamelessly abandoned himself to debauchery in a garden, was killed by a buffalo. Another was shot in a street brawl. George de Souza was implicated in this. His house was burnt, and the Fathers nearly died in the fire. Persuaded that, the sooner they left Dacca the better, they left for Cutch, where they were well-received by King Licarname. He gave them a safe-conduct for Gabbarosa, the Governor of Behar, and 100 gold ducats, to meet their expenses. Moreover he entrusted them to one of his relations, who, at the head of 400 soldiers, protected them till Behar.

Behar and Bhutan.—"Behar is a fine country, full of trees, with plenty of cattle, and plenty of water, fresh and clear. It abounds in rice, sugar and victuals, more than the rest of Bengale.

"It is cut by numerous and wealthy rivers. It has fountains of water which never fail, and green meadows, which offer good pastures. Lemons and oranges could make us forget

home. The people are white. Their customs and mode of life show an inclination to meekness and kindness; and they received our Fathers very hospitably. The King himself assigned them a house, and made them gifts of oil, sugar, salt, meat, etc. At the same time, he marched with his army into a neighbouring kingdom, though advanced in age, and he came back victorious.

"He invited the Fathers to Court to see the war booty. The royal palace is fine. The entrance is guarded by 200 armed soldiers. From there they were introduced to the apartments of a certain Brahmin who is the master (*Guru* ?) of the King.

"Finally they reached the house where the King was waiting for them. Ours saluted him in our fashion. The King signed to them to approach him.

"He showed them great friendship and declared that he was ready to help them in whatever they desired.

"The Fathers withdrew to the house which he had assigned to them. When the day returned he sent a distinguished Officer to salute them with marks of honour, and by order of the King he promised that all their expenses would be paid."

It seemed good to Fr. Cacella to leave Fr. Cabral there, and to try and reach the place where pass all the people from the mountains. Perhaps he would meet someone who would give him some information. The King gave him two men who guided him till Reinate.

All this country is very fertile. The houses are not scattered, but near one another; there are big orchards and gardens.

The day of the Feast of Saints Simon and Jude (28th October 1626) Fr. Cacella reached Reinate, and took with him the man who had served as a guide to Fr. Antony de Andrade to go to Tibet. In a big square they saw three mountaineers, who had brought wares to sell. The Father approached them, and by his affability made them offer themselves to be his guides. They added that, should the Father need any help from them, they would not fail in their duty, as honest men.

"This (who? the guide?), having received letters from the King, called his merchants and entrusted the Fathers to them. The merchants, having left hostages at Colombari, took an oath that they would lead these Portuguese sound and safe to the Capital of Cathay.

"Here is some information gathered by the Fathers. These people are called Buttias, and their country (which is very large) Bottense (Bhutan). Their garments are made of wool; they wear little balls of gold, not round the neck, but hanging from the girdle. Chaparanga is the name of the place where resides Fr. De Andrade. But when Fr. Cacella said that one of his Brethren lived there the Bottia said he did not know him. We shall go—replied the Bottia—to see King Dromaraja, and he will be glad to help us on our journey. Chaparanga—across Nepal—is not far from Dromaraja. He had no knowledge of Tibet.

"A man coming from Persia believed that beyond the mountains there were two kingdoms, one called O and the other Uttouroum. ... As to religion these people are not given to the superstition of false gods; they adore the Cross; detest the Moors; do not follow pagan customs; have their temples adorned with the sign of our Redemption, and have a great respect for their priests whom they call Lamas.

"This Buttan who promised to be their guide, declared not to know the God adored by these peoples, always said that he was a sinner. The kingdom of Cutch touches the boundaries of Reinate; it reaches to the frontiers of Nepal.

"As soon as the Father returned to Colombari, he sent a letter and the boat to Br. Fontebona. But this, having returned to Hoogli, died, and, instead of starting for Cathay, he went to heaven, being hardly fifty years old."

3. The Closing of the Mission

Fr. Manuel Diaz.—The Annual Letter of 1628 is incomplete. We read there that a new companion—Fr. M. Diaz—was given to Fr. Cacella. As soon as he heard that he had to join Fr. Cacella, he left San Thome—where he was Rector—and, without money, went to Negapatam, wherefrom he embarked for Bengal.

Meanwhile Fr. Cacella was studying Tibetan in Buttan, with a teacher from Tsaparang. In a letter of October 6, 1627, Fr. Cacella states that he had already written three times to Tsaparang, but in vain. However, at Tashi Lumpo, near Shijatze he found a monastery of Lamas from Tsaparang, and from them got frequent tidings of the Tsaparang Fathers.

He tried to go to Tsaparang, but the King Dharmaraja did not allow him; rather he invited Fr. Andrade to his Court.[7]

Fr. Diaz arrived at Hoogli and from there—as the letter states—he went up the Ganges even to Cathay. In Buttan "the King received him well, and gave him many presents. But the priests did not like him. They were saying that the Fathers had come to destroy their temples. The King gave to the Father a house to be transformed into a temple D.O.M."

In the same Annual Letter Fr. Cacella describes the country as very fertile. "The inhabitants are neither black nor ugly. Their beard is scanty. They walk barefooted, and their arms are adorned with well-wrought bracelets. They are good archers.

The priests study their books, but use no arms. They cut their hair. Some hairs of the beard reach even their knees. The priests never leave their short mantle. May God be pleased to grant them light to see the truth."

Fr. Cacella intended to go to Tsaparang in 1629, but was prevented by heavy snow. Then Fr. Diaz died at Marange (?) November 3rd, 1629; and soon after Fr. Cacella also died.

In 1631 Fr. Cabral wrote to Fr. Azevedo in Tsaparang, suggesting that the latter should establish a permanent station at Shijatze. His own Provincial was not enthusiastic about the mission, and now that Frs. Cacella and Diaz were dead, he would certainly close it. Could he not be transferred to the jurisdiction of Tsaparang, and thus, ensure the continuance of the Tibetan Mission?

These suggestions were transmitted to Goa; and Fr. Azevedo pleaded for their acceptance. But the mission was closed in 1632, when Fr. Cabral returned to Hoogli. In 1635 Fr. Coresma reported against continuing the Mission at Shijatze, notwithstanding the protests of Fr. Mendez, and the passionate appeal of Fr. Figueredo (1643). *"Ite angeli veloces,"* he cried, *"ite ad gentem expectantem."*

It was not to be done, and the gallant attempt failed. The Fathers returned, as Cordara remarks, *"manipulis quidem vacui, sed ausu commendati"*. (1)

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[7] See McLagen, p. 356.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

1 Fr. Cordara says that Fr. Laerzio recalled Frs. Cacella and Cabral. As we have seen, Fr. Cacella was dead; a good religious and a brave explorer.

Besides the *Litterae Annuae* quoted in the Text, *Cf.* Sir Edward McLagen, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul,* London, Burns, O. &. W., 1932, Ch. XIX. The Tibetan Mission—Tsaparang. *Cfr.* also Father Wessel's *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia,* 1603–1721, The Hague, 1924. *Cf.* also *Historiae Soc. Jesu pars vi Tomus II ab anno Xti MDCXXV ad annum MDCXXXIII Auctore J.C. Cordara. Sac. ejusdem Soc. Romae* Typis Civil. Cath. MDCCCLIX, pp. 132, 133.

IMPORTANT DATES

A.D.	
52	Landing of the Apostle St. Thomas in Malabar.
295	Bishop Dudi sails from Basrah to India.
345	Thomas the Cananean brings 400 Christians to Cranganore.
354–56	Visit of Bishop Theophilos to India.
545	Cosmas Indicopleustes visits India.
590	Theodore visits the Thomas Christians.
650–60	Patriarch Isho-Yahb III mentions a break in the Malabar Episcopal Succession.
714–28	Sahiba-Zekha, Seleucian Patriarch, raises the Indian Church to the status of Metropolitan Church.
775–(824)	Thomas of Cana (Bishop) is sent to India.
779–823	Patriarch Timothy.
841	Date of Suleiman's "SALSALAT-AL-TRAVARIK".
852–58	Patriarch Theodose.
880	Bishops Mar Saisho and Mar Piruz come to India.
883	Alfred the Great's Embassy.
1043	The Indian Church under Antioch.
1122	Mar John goes to Rome.
1122–29	Mar John comes to India.
1292	Marco Polo visits India.
1302	Friar Jordan of Toulouse in India.
1305	John of Monte Corvino on the Thomas Christians.
1321	Bl. Odorico da Pordenone comes to India.
1348	John de Marignolli visits India.
1375	The Catalan Map.
1439	Pope Eugene IV sends an Embassy to Thomas, the Emperor of the Indians.
1490	Joseph goes from Malabar to Mesopotamia to ask that Bishops be sent to Malabar.
1490	Bishop John comes to Malabar.
1497	(25th March) Vasco de Gama leaves Lisbon on his Voyage to India.
1498	(26th August) Landing of Vasco de Gama on Indian soil.
	P. Pedro de Covilham killed by the Moors in Calicut.
1500	The Franciscans erect the first Post-Portuguese Church in India (Calicut).
	(16th December) Rising against Cabral. Three Franciscans are killed in Calicut.
1501	Joao da Nova's Expedition.
1502	Vasco de Gama's Second Expedition.
	His revenge against Calicut.
	Portuguese Factory in Cannanore.
	Deputation sent by the Mangalore Christians to V. de Gama.
	Vasco de Gama's Interview with the Thomas Christians.

A.D.

1503 Don Francisco de Albuquerque's Expedition.
Don Affonso de Albuquerque builds Fort of Cochin.
His agreement with the Ranee of Quilon about the Thomas Christians.
1503–04 Chaldean Bishops in Cannanore.
1504 Suarez de Menezes captures Cranganore.
1505 Building of Fort Sant'Angelo and Chapel in Cannanore.
1507 Cannanore is besieged and liberated.
1509 Affonso de Albuquerque Viceroy.
1510 He takes Goa.
He fights against the Zamorin.
He helps the Thomas Christians to repair Church in Cranganore.
1513 The Fort of Kallayi (near Calicut) and the Church in it.
1514 Leo X erects See of Funchal. Funchal sends Vicars to India.
Bishop Duarte Nunhez, O.P. comes to India.
1516 Lopo Suarez obliges the Ranee of Quilon to rebuild a Church for the Thomas Christians.
1518 Bishop Andre Torquemada O.F.M. comes to India.
1523 Finding of the Relics of St. Thomas in Mylapore.
1525 Kallayi Fort is destroyed.
1530 Mangalore is destroyed.
1532 Fernando Vacqueiro comes to India as Bishop.
Chalyiam Fort completed.
1533 Funchal is erected into an Archdiocese.
1534 Goa is made Suffragan to Funchal.
1535 Diu taken by Nunho de Cunha.
1535–36 Conversion of the Paravars.
1537 Joao de Albuquerque, first Bishop of Goa.
1538 Siege of Diu.
(28th January) Battle of Vedalay.
1540 Peace with the Zamorin.
1541 Xavier sails for India.
1542 Xavier reaches Goa (May).
Xavier goes to the Fishery Coast (October).
1544 Xavier's second Mission to the Fishery Coast.
By Xavier's endeavours peace is established between the Vadughers and Travancore.
Conversion of the Mukuvars.
Martyrs of Manar.
Xavier in Cannanore.
1547 The Portuguese discover the Cross at the Mount.
1548 Fr. Antonio Criminali, Superior of the Fishery Coast.
1549 Fr. Antonio Criminali's Death.
Mar Jacob's Death.
Frey Vicente's Seminary in Cranganore.
Baptism of the Rajah of Tanur.

A.D.

1550 First Printing Presses are brought to India.
1551 The Moors kill Fr. Francisco Estevan.
John Su-la-qua goes to Rome.
1552 St. Francis Xavier's Death.
Death of Br. Luis Mendez.
Frs. M. Moraes and A. De Sa, S.J., are sent to Ceylon.
1554 John Su-la-qua is put to death.
1555 Mangalore is burnt.
1556 Abdiso sends Mar Joseph to India.
1557 Erection of Archdiocese of Goa and of Diocese of Cochin.
1557–60 First Jesuit Mission in the Serra.
1558 Mangalore is burnt again.
Siege of Cannanore.
1560 Cochin Rajah's Edict of Tolerance.
King of Ikeri is granted the Government of Mangalore.
1563 A boy from Goa is killed for the Faith.
1565 Second Siege of Cannanore.
Mar Abraham returns to India from Rome.
1566 Peace with the Kollatiri of Cannanore.
Five Paravars killed for the Faith.
1567 First Council of Goa.
1568 Battle of Ullal.
Mangalore Fort is built.
Franciscan, Jesuit and other Martyrs.
1571 Fort of Chalyiam is blown up.
1575 Second Council of Goa.
1576 Cochin Rajah's Letter to the Pope.
The Jesuits Peter Dias and A. Vaz go to Bengal.
1577 Foundation of the Seminary of Vaipicota.
1583 The Jesuit Martyrs of Salsete.
Synod of Angamale.
1583–85 Peace between the Portuguese and the Zamorin.
1585 Third Council of Goa.
1586 Kunhale III defeats the Portuguese.
1592 Fourth Council of Goa.
1595 Don Alexis de Menezes, Archbishop of Goa.
1596 Robert de Nobili joins the Society.
Zamorin's Edict of Tolerance.
The Zamorin invites the Jesuits to Calicut.
1597 Mar Abraham's Death.
1598 Fr. Ayres de Sa, S.J., starts the Mission at Chandragiri.
Peace between the Portuguese and the Zamorin.
1599 Synod of Diamper.
Battle of the Zamorin and the Portuguese against Kunhale.
Peace between the Portuguese and the Queen of Ullal.
1601 The Malabar Vice-Province.
Don Francis Roz consecrated Bishop of the Serra.
Fr. Fenicio in Calicut.

A.D.	
1603	Fr. Fenicio's Expedition to Todaland (Nilgiris).
1604	The Church of Mae de Deus is built at Mylapore.
1605	Establishment of the Malabar Province.
	Fr. Robert de Nobili, S.J., reaches Goa.
	Fr. A. Laerzio, First Provincial.
1606	Fr. Robert de Nobili goes to Madura.
	A Church is built in Tanur.
1607	Death of the Explorer Br. Bento Goes, S.J.
1609	Don Alexis de Menezes nominated to the See of Braga.
1611	War between the Zamorin and the Rajah of Cochin.
1611–15	Fr. Francis Pero, Second Provincial.
1613	The Jesuits meet in Cochin to discuss ways and means of carrying on the work of the Missions.
1615–22	Fr. Gaspar Fernandez, Third Provincial.
1616	Frs. Pelingotti and Metella are killed.
1617	Death of Don Alexis de Menezes.
1618	Louis de Mello defeated by Venktappa Naick.
1619	Council of Goa to decide on Fr. De Nobili's methods.
1620 (?)	Calicut Church destroyed.
1622–23	Fr. Manuel Roiz, Fourth Provincial.
1623	Brief of Gregory XIII approving of Fr. De Nobili's methods of Evangelisation.
1623	Della Valle visits Mangalore.
1623–26	Fr. G. De Andrade, Fifth Provincial.
1624	Fr. A. De Andrade's First Expedition to Tibet.
1624	Death of Don Francis Roz, S.J.
1625	Fr. A. De Andrade's Second Expedition to Tibet.
1626–30	Fr. A. Laerzio, Sixth Provincial a second time.
1626–32	Tibetan Mission organised from Malabar.
1630–34	Fr. G. Fernandez, Seventh Provincial a second time.
1632	Death of Fr. Fenicio, S.J.
1632–33	Fr. G. De Mattos, Seventh Provincial (?).
1633	Don Francis Garcia, S.J., appointed Coadjutor to Archbishop de Brito.
1634–35	Fr. M. De Faria, Ninth Provincial.
1635	Peace between the Zamorin and the Rajah of Cochin.
1636 (?)	Calicut Church rebuilt.
1637–41	Fr. M. De Azevedo, Tenth Provincial.
1640	Fr. De Nobili imprisoned.
1641	Death of Don Esteban De Brito.
1641	Death of Fr. Francis Fernandez.
1641–43	Fr. P. P. Godinho, Eleventh Provincial.
1644–46	Fr. Manoel Barradas, Twelfth Provincial.
1646–50	Fr. Ignatius Bruno, Thirteenth Provincial.

APPENDIX

SOME INTERESTING DOCUMENTS which can be found in the *Bullarium Patronatus*, etc., Vol. II ab anno 1601 ad annum 1700:

1. A Brief of Pope Paul V which re-establishes the Archdiocese of Angamale, 22nd December 1608.

2. A second Brief by the same Pope, whereby Cranganore is dismembered from the Diocese of Cochin and is made the headquarters of the Archdiocese of Angamale, 3rd December 1609.

3. A third Brief by the same Pope, whereby the Archbishop of Goa, or, in case he should not be free, the Provincials of the Dominicans and of the Augustinians are empowered to trace the limits of the Archdiocese of Angamale, 3rd December 1609.

4. A fourth Brief to the Archbishop of Goa on the same matter, 3rd December 1609.

5. A Decree of the Archbishop of Goa, Don Alexis de Menezes, on the division of the Dioceses of Angamale, Cochin and Mylapore, 22nd December 1610.

(6) ....“Angamalensi sedi (quae nunc ab eodem Sanctissimo Papa ad Cranganorensem urbem translata fuit) pro distincto, certo ac proprio territorio sequents regiones attribuimus, minoris Vaipim insulam, quae ab ostii veteris parte in majorem Vaipim vergit, in qua sitae sunt parochiae Dignarica primum, quae semper Angamalensi sedi subiecta fuit; Paliportensis recens condita, de qua praeteritis annis jurgium intervenit; et ex hac minori Vaipim Angamalensis jurisdictio excurrendo a septemptrionali parte ad parvam usque insulam TERMAPATAM nomine, quae tribus fere leucis a CANANORENSI urbe, in qua Goensis Dioecoesis limitatur, distat; quarum regionum non littora tantum et vicina littoribus oppida Angamalensi Praesuli subiacebunt, sed mediterranea etiam, in quibus nonullae parochiae visuntur, quae semper Angamalensi sedi obedientiam praestitere. Ibi etiam sita est Cranganorensis arx, quam SS. Paulus PP V, Angamalensis Archiepiscopatus caput esse iussit; in eisdem etiam mediterraneis Angamalensis ditionis CALECUTANA et TANORENSIS parochiae numerantur.

(7) Ex australi parte insula Iohanis Pereyra exclusive limes erit Angamalensis Dioecoesis ex qua ad partem Ancheraical eius ditio excurret per mediterranea loca in quibus regionibus peninsula Cocchinensis tantum cum omnibus parochiis, in ea sitis, vel extructis, vel aliquando extruendis, Cocchinensi Episcopo subjacebunt, una cum Mantecherensi et Palurtensi parochiis, quae hactenus Angamalensis ditionis fuerant, in Cocchinensi amplius Dioecoesi numerabuntur.

(8) Ostrearum insulae et reliquae regiones usque ad Caidaval, quae ad mediterranea vergunt cum omnibus littoribus et fluviis ejusdem regionis, in qua plures numerantur parochiae Angamalensis

ditionis; omnis autem regio ex fluviis mare usque ad littus
Cocchinensis Dioecoesis erit, exceptis parochiis quae hodie Anga-
malensis sunt ditionis in eadem regione cum media leuca in circuitu
a loco ubi sitae sunt. Littus Cocchinense erit cum Ecclesia Porcaa,
quae hactenus Dioecoesi Angamalensi includebatur, et omne quod
fuerit versus mediterranea loca distans a mari in qua plurimae
sunt parochiae usque adhuc Cocchinensi Episcopo subjectae eandem
subjectionem retinebunt praedicto Cocchinensi Praesuli dummodo
ejus ditio non plusquam per leucam a mari recedat, quae fere
utriusque dioecoesis limes erit, in quo tractu etiam nonullae visuntur
Angamalensis Dioecoesis parochiae, quas et omnem Travancoren-
sem oram, cum Ecclesiis in ea sites, Cocchinensi sedi subiicimus,
exceptis Tranvancorensi et Cotensi Ecclesiis, et reliquis quae Archi-
episcopatui Angamalensi illac pertinent, et excepta etiam Coulan-
ensi Ecclesia superiori, quae antiquam subjectionem Angamalensi
Praesuli retinebit, cum propter continua fere bella inter Lusitanos
et indigenas reges non facile adiri, nec administrari possit a parocho
coulanensi episcopo subjecto.

(9) Angamalensis ditionis erunt omnia mediterranea, quae
decem lusitanis leucis a mari distent, ultra comorinense promonto-
rum quae decem leucae subjacebunt Praesuli Cochinensi, cum omni-
bus parochiis, vel etiam extructis vel in posterum extruendis, in hac
omni Piscariae terra, quod debet intelligi ad eas usque regiones ubi
Meliaporensis Dioecoesis incipit; ita extra has decem leucas Anga-
malensi subjacebunt mediterranea omnia cum regionibus Naique
et Madure, excurretque ejus ditio ad fines usque inter se Melia-
porensis et Cocchinensis Dioecoesis. Et hanc nostram divisionem,
assignationem inter Angamalensem et Cocchinensem Dioecoesim
jubemus integre et pefecte servari" . . . .

6. A Brief wherein Pope Paul V writes to the Archbishop of
Goa ordering that the division and delimitation of the Dioceses of
Cochin and Angamale be finally carried out.

7. The CONSTITUTION of Gregory XV on the MALABAR RITES.
It is dated 31st January 1623 and begins with the words ROMANAE
SEDIS. We give the following points:

(1) Cum itaque, sicut nobis dilecti filii Procuratoris Generalis
Soc. Jesu nomine expositum fuit, quod brahmanes aliique orientalis
Indiae difficile propterea adducantur ad Christi fidem amplecten-
dam, quod dimittere nolint "lineas" ac "corumbyna" nuncupata,
quibus nobilitatem et progeniem ac civile cujusque munus
agnosci perhibent, neque "sandalis" et "lavationibus" abstinere,
quoniam ad corporis ornatum et munditiam pertinere reputant;
nos, quantum sine Dei offensione et populorum scandalo licet,
eorum conversioni consulere cupientes, multa ac solerti discus-
sione praemissa votisque auditis venerab. fratrum nostrum S.R.E.
Cardinalium, humanae infirmitati consulendo, usque ad aliam nostram
et sedis ap. deliberationem, brahmanibus aliisque, ut supra, gentili-
bus, conversis et convertendis, ad finem et ad stirpes discriminan-

das, et in signum politicae nobilitatis, et officii lineas et corumbyna
assumere et deferre, atque sandalis pro elegantia, ac lavationibus
pro munditia corporis uti possint, ap. auctoritate, tenore prae-
sentium indulgemus, dummodo ad omnem superstitionem expur-
gandam, eaque tollenda quae scandalum praebere feruntur, infra
scriptas leges et conditiones observent.

(2) Lineam et corumbynam non accipiant in templo iodolrum,
neque, ut hactenus factum esse dicitur, ab eorum ministro "jocim",
sive alio eum nomine vocent; neque a legis concionatore, vel a
ministro quem "bottum", seu aliter appellant; nec ab alio quovis
infideli homine; sed a sacerdote catholico, qui ea benedicat lustrali
aqua et piis precibus ab ordinario loci pro tota diocesi approbandis,
atque super lineam praesertim recitandis, ut infra, factaque in
manu sacerdotis fidei professione, suscipiant; ita tamen ut cum
traditur linea, non appendatur, ut mos esse fertur, in pollice dextrae
conferentis, nec inferior lineae pars manu sinistra ejusdem capiatur;
nes dextra ipsa elevetur, ut pravum omne mysterium, si quid iis
ceremoniis intenditur, prorsus cum illis aboleatur; neque eam sus-
cepturi, "fani" ministro, si talis consuetudo adsit erudiendi
tradatur, cum pietatis cultores instrui non debeant ab impietatis
magistris.

(3) Orationes, si quae dici solent, sive "manseu", sive "niem-
hopavidae" aut alio nomine vocentur, in lineae at corumbini tradi-
tione, et multa diligentia perdisci solitae, nullomodo addiscantur aut
recitentur; sicuit enim tanquam perniciosissima figmenta diaboli per
praesentes damnatur atque anathematizantur, ita sempiterna obli-
vione obrui ac deleri debent.

(4) Sacrificia quoque quae usurpari consueverunt in lineae sive
corumbyni susceptione, fieri neutiquam possint, et generaliter ritus
omnes et cerimoniae et preces, quae ut fertur "haiteres" et "tan-
diae" vocantur, et alia quaeque ante actum, et in ipso actu vel
post, quandoque observari recitarive consueta, districte prohibentur.

(5) Non tradant nec sumant, nec ferant lineam tribus filis
compositam, in honorem, ut fieri quidam aiunt, trium suae gentis
deorum, nec nodum quo fila colligantur, aut corumbynum ejusve
nexum, in "Brumae", aut "Parhamisurim" aut alterius cujus-
cumque idoli venerationem, nec ad alium quemvis gentilitium finem.
Trinitatis, recitata omnino super illam in ejus susceptione, ejusdem
sed lineam in memoriam tantum et obsequium Sae. et individuae
Sae. Trinitatis oratione, eamque et corumbynum simpliciter in
signum civilis nobilitatis et officii, ac familarium distinctionem,
quod dantes et recipientes in ipso actu, juxta formam a loci Ordi-
nario, ut infra, prescribendam expresse protestentur; neque ad
lineam quidquam appendatur quod idolatriam et superstitionem,
ut ab aliquibus fieri asseritur, quoquomodo redoleat; siquid tamen
appendi placeret, per quam laudabile esset, ut vel sanctissimae
crucis, vel D. N. J. Christi, vel B. V. Mariae, seu alia quaeque reli-
giosa imago appenderetur; lineam si sponte fregerint, nec in

poenitentiam peregrinentur, nec pro ea recipienda convivia aut alia si quae fieri solita sunt, sollemnia faciant; nullis etiam precibus vel ceremoniis adhibitis quidquid antehac fecisse dicantur, lineam et corumbynum resumant, si quovis alio modo amiserint, et resumere voluerint. Cum ad Deum supplicationes fundunt, lineam quasi obligatione, prae manibus, ut fama est eos habere, non habeant. Funiculo suo "munji" ut vocant, si qui per aliquot dies, ut fertur, ante lineae assumptionem, praecincti incedunt, amplius non utantur, cum nobilitatis stemma non sit, sed superstitiosa ad lineam capessendam praeparatio.

(6) Qui fidem jam susceperunt, et lineas et corumbyna habent superstitioso sub ritu collata, nova, observatisque iis quae praesentibus litteris praecipiuntur, assumant, prioribus lineis confractis et combustis; omnia enim scandala, cujusmodi lineae et corumbyna fuerunt, sententia Domini adjudicata sunt igni, idque ipsum efficiatur ab illis qui fidem amplexuri de catero sunt, antequam sacra abluantur unda.

(7) Corumbyni nodus, si lavandi causa, seu qualibet alia solvatur, id, ob commodum, non ad aliquem finem superstitiosum, fiat, et cum religatur, orationes si quae in eo actu recitari solent omnino omittantur.

(8) Sandalis ad civile ornamentum corporis, tantummodo utantur, abstinentes prorsus ab ea materia et forma, ab eaque parte corporis ungenda, unde cujusque idoli cultus denotari dicitur; lavacra non alia occasione et fine corporis reficiendi et a naturalibus sordibus mundare permittantur, rejectis tamen penitus orationibus et ritibus circa tempus, modum et alia, si quae adhiberi solent, sive ante ablutionem sive post, sive in ablutione ipsa.

(9) Alia complura in omnibus supradictis esse possunt quae superstitionem prae se ferant, aut Deum seu proximum verbo vel facto aut aliter offendant, et tamen nostram notitiam effugerint. Ea igitur universa et singula, auctoritate et tenore praedictis, damnamus ac districtiori quam possit unquam excogitari modo, prohibemus; cum civilem tantum modo praedictorum usum a qualibet vel levissima culpa aut macula, necdum ab impurissima superstitionis labe purgatum defoecatumque permittere intendamus.

(10) Praecipimus idcirco, ut brahmanes aliique gentiles supradicti, ad finem politicum dumtaxat se his concessionibus usuros, et omnia quae praesentibus litteris damnantur et interdicuntur, damnare, rejicere et penitus se repudiare coram Ordinario loci aut proprio parocho, si copia sit, alioquin coram christiano sacerdote, juxta formam ab eodem Ordinario praescribendam, protestantur. Verum qui hactenus acceperunt fidem, cum primum haec eis innotuerint, et qui posthac accepturi sunt, antequam ad baptismum admittantur, si ejus aetatis sint, ut usum habeant rationis, sin minus, cum ad eam aetatem pervenerint.

(11) Insuper per viscera Jesu Christi hortamur et rogamus, ac pro ea qua fungimur auctoritate, strictissime jubemus, ne prae-

dictorum insignium et aliorum quae permittuntur, occasione novella Christi germina cum membris diaboli commisceantur in iis, quae superstitionem atque abrenunciatum idolorum cultum quolibet modo sapiunt. Fierent enim sic posteriora deteriora prioribus, cum melius fuisset illis non cognovisse viam justitiae quam post agnitionem retrorsum esse conversos. Eos denique, qui mundana, hoc est inani et citissime peritura, nobilitate gloriantur, etiam atque etiam obtestamur et obsecramus, ut memores se factos esse membra ejus corporis, cujus caput est Ille qui mitis est et humilis corde, et qui non respicit personas hominum in communi consortio, praecipue autem in ecclesiis, ubi humilissima debet esse conversatio nostra; viles et obscuros non despiciant, seorsum ab eis audiendo divina et sacramenta percipiendo. Qui enim eodem verbo pascuntur, eodem pane recreantur, atque ejusdem regni futuri sunt consortes, diversis in locis stare aut assistere quasi pro inferioris conditionis hominum dedignatione in domo Dei, quae est Ecclesia, non decet; satisque est cum humillimis respici, quam cum altis a longe cognosci, atque ad modicum tempus hujusmodi contemptoribus separari de medio justorum.

(12) Atque ita decernimus et mandamus in omnibus quae praecepta aut prohibita, aut denegata supra sunt, donec aliud fuerit a nobis et ab apostolica sede provisum, inviolabiliter observari.

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